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VOLUME 2



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Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

V. S. PATHAK

HISTORY OF ŚAIVA CULTS IN NORTHERN INDIA

FROM INSCRIPTIONS
(700 A.D. TO 1200 A.D.)

Editor of this Volume

G. C. Pande

Abinash Prakashan, Allahabad

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ABBREVIATIONS

A C.	*Antiquities of Chambā State*: J. Vogel, Delhi.
A S I., A R.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
B I.	*Bhāvanagar Inscriptions.*
C I I.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
D H I.	*Development of Hindu Iconography*: Dr. J. N. Banerjea, Calcutta (2nd Edition).
E H I.	*Elements of Hindu Iconography*: T. A. G. Rao (in four parts), Madras.
E I.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
H B D.	*History of Bengal,* University of Dacca, 1943.
H D.	*History of Dharmaśāstras*: Mm. P. V. Kane (in 5 volumes), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1930-56).
I A.	*Indian Antiquary.*
I H Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
I S G.	*Iśāna-śiva-guru-deva-paddhati* (Part I-IV) Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivendrum.
J A H R S.	*Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.*
J A O S.	*Journal of American Oriental Society.*
J A S B.	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J B B R A S.	*Journal of Bombay Branch of Asiatic Society.*
J Orissa H R.	*Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society.*
J U P H S.	*Journal of U. P. Historical Society.*
P & T O C.	*Proceedings and Transactions of Oriental Conference.*
M A S I.	*Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India.*
S I I.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
Vaishṇavism etc.	*Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Other Minor Religious Systems*: R. G. Bhandarkar, Poona, 1929.

General Editor's Preface

For over two decades, the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology of the University of Allahabad has been conducting seminal researches in the Archaeology of the Gangetic and Vindhyan Regions, and in the social and cultural history of ancient India. These researches have been characterised by an intellectual approach which combines rigour with sophistication in finely balanced proportions ; and the themes taken up for exploration concern fundamental facets of Man and Society in our prehistoric and classical past.

Both the quality and the quantum of researches conducted under our auspices have encouraged us to launch a new series of publications, under the title "Studies in History, Culture and Archaeology." In this series, we propose, in the coming years, to issue a number of monographs written by members of our faculty. Through the medium of the "Studies" we seek to communicate to a wider scholarly audience the results of the work being conducted in our department, in the hope that this will stimulate discussion and research.

Under this new series, we shall also be publishing the work of scholars who do not belong to our Department, the only criterion for selection in the series being academic excellence. We hope to attract for publication manuscripts

from senior as well as young scholars in universities and research institutions in India and abroad.

The second volume in the series entitled '*History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India from Inscriptions* (700 *A. D.* *to* 1200 *A. D.)*' by V. S. Pathak is being released.

G. R. Sharma

Introduction

The historical origins and early development of Śaivism go back to at least the beginnings of civilisation in India. It is well known that Marshall discovered a representation of the *'Paśupati'* in the remains of the Indus civilisation. The earliest literary record in our history, viz., the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* clearly attests the worship of *Rudra*. The full sublimity of *Rudra* is, however, unfolded in the *Yajurveda* and even today the chanting of the *Śatarudriya* remains without a parallel for its moving power. Rudra-Śiva is seen to be both Apollonian and Dionysian, the god 'who is shadowed in immortality and death.' In the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* we find the first adumbrations of the philosophical aspect of Śavism. Its connections with *Yoga* and *Bhakti* also become manifest here. In the early post-Vedic age we learn from the *Mahābhārata* that the *Pāśupata* had emerged as a distinctive spiritual path by the side of the *Pāñcarātra,* Sāṅkhya and *Yoga*. The evidence of Megasthenes and Patañjali confirms this.

Dr. Pathak has suggested that Śrīkaṇṭha, the traditional founder of the *Pāśupata* sect might well have been historical. A second movement in the history of the sect was initiated by *Lakulīśa* and Dr. Pathak has convincingly argued that it would be a proper interpretation of the evidence if *Lakulīśa* is placed in the second century B. C. It has similarly been argued that Somaśarman and Guhāvāsī originated other powerful Śaiva movements.

While the light which Dr. Pathak sheds on the early history and mutual relationship of the Śaiva Cults is full of interest, his main concentration in the present monograph is on collecting epigraphic data relating to these cults from the early medieval period and assessing its historical significance. For any student of history it is thrilling indeed to learn of actual lines of Śaiva teachers who guided the mighty Kalacuri and Cola rulers. Within its self-imposed limitation Dr. Pathak's monograph presents a brilliant treatment of an aspect of early medieval religious history and epigraphy.

Indeed the monograph tends to whet the reader's appetite and we can only hope that Dr. Pathak will perhaps one day find time and inclination to write about other aspects of this complex and fascinating history. It is a pity that few scholars have been drawn to it. If iconographic, sculptural and architectural data are combined with epigraphy, perhaps new details about the local variations of cults might be revealed. For example, a good beginning has been made in this respect about the cult of the Buddhist godess Tārā in eastern India.

The most important aspect, however, of Śaiva history undoubtedly lies in the development of Śaiva literature, doctrines and modes of worship. While Dr. Pathak has made some highly interesting and valuable observations on this aspect, he could not naturally be expected within the compass of the present work to go any further in this direction. Even within these restrictions Dr. Pathak has made an admirable and brilliant use of varied literary sources. His use of the *Tantraloka* is especially revealing. It is well known that the various streams of Śaiva tradition vary not only in superficial externalities but also in their metaphysical points of view. Some Āgamas are thus dualistic while others are non-dualistic. In this connection Dr. Pathak

quotes an illuminating passage from Jayaratha which explains that the five faces of Śiva correspond to *cit, ānanda, iccha, jñāna* and *kriyā* and that the five streams of *Śāstra* proceed from these while the Lord is in the state of being Sadāśiva. The dualistic, non-dualistic and mixed philosophies are thus variations which arise in these different streams, all equally proceeding from the Lord.

The problem of reconciling metaphysical diversity has been a common one in the history of Indian spiritual thought. The Buddhists had, thus, faced this problem within their numerous sects and schools. The Mahāyāna proposed as the solution of this difficulty the principle of '*Vineyabhedad desana-bhedah*'. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* gives a graphic illustration of the Great Teacher's *Upaya-Kausalya* in this respect. In course of time the *Vedānta* with its numerous schools faced the same problem and *Madhusudana Sarasvati* formulated the doctrine of *Prasthāna bheda,* taking his cue from a famous ancient *Śaiva Stotra.* The greatest of the Śaiva philosophers, Abhinavagupta, had already attempted to reconcile metaphysical diversity by relating it to the diversity of spiritual experience. In our own times the great savant M. M. Pt. Gopinatha Kaviraja has spoken of the 'synthetic gradation' of Indian philosophy.

The fact of the matter is that Śaiva philosophy, like Buddhist or Vedāntic philosophy, is not a merely speculative analysis but rather an interpretation of experienced spiritual verities. Now, despite the formal reverence paid to the revealed word, in practice Indian spiritual seeking has tended to go by experience. A process of interpretation has thus been constantly necessary to reconcile the word and personal experience. This has led to the dialectical development of a rich spiritual tradition. The continued

vitality of the tradition of *sādhana* in India makes the study of past philosophies and the *śāstras* a particularly rewarding and interesting task. Perhaps to some such an analysis of ancient philosophical ideas in the context of spiritual experience will appear bound to remain theoretical or even speculative in the absence of detailed historical and biographical data. Consequently whatever scraps of historical information can be gleaned in the area must appear most welcome. This makes Prof. Pathak's present work of particular interest and value not merely to the epigraphist and historian but to the student of religion and philosophy. It is, therefore, a matter of great pleasure that this Essay of Dr. Pathak, has been published in the form of a monograph in the series of publication sponsored by the Department of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology of the University of Allahabad.

G. C. Pande

योगेनात्मसमाधिना विगलिते दिग्देशकालक्रमे
शैवं पाशुपतं कृतन्तु भवता सोमञ्च कापालिकम्
तत्कालादिकलां क्रमे कलायता त्वद्धस्तु शस्तं मया
नैवेद्याय समर्प्यते हरिहर ! त्वत्पादपाथोजयो :।

ŚAIVISM IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA AS KNOWN FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES MAINLY INSCRIPTIONS

V. S. PATHAK

During Early Medieval Period Saivism was very popular in Northern India. Majority of Gahadavāla[1], Chedi[2], Chandella[3] and Orissa kings[4] were styled as *Parama-māheśvara.* Harjaravarmmā and Vaidyadeva of Assam, Vijayasena, Vallālasena of Bengal, Devapala, Paramāra and Bhartrivadha Chāhamāna of Western India also bore this religious epithet.

Several rulers dedicated their kingdoms either to Śiva or to Śaiva ascetics. Thus, Avantivarmman[5] of the Mattamayūra region and a Chedi

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1 Chandradeva (*EI, XIV*, 197-200), Madanapāla (*IA, XIV*, 101 ff), Govindachandra (*JASB, XXXI*, 123-24) and Hariśchandra (*EI*, X, pp. 97-98).

2 Lakshmī-Karṇṇa (*EI*, II, pp. 305 ff), Yaśah-Karṇa (*EI, XII*, 210 ff), Narasimhadeva (*IA, XVIII*, pp. 211-13), Jayasiṁha (*IA, XVII*, 224 ff), Vijayasiṁha (*IA, XVII*, 227-30).

3 Devavarmman (*IA, XVI*, 205 ff), Madanavarmā (*IA, XVI*, 202, 207-10), Parmarddi (*EI, IV*, pp. 135-70), Trailokya-varmmadeva (*EI, XVI*, pp. 272-77).

4 Mahābhavagupta Janmejaya (*EI, XI.* pp. 93-95), Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (*JBORS, II*, 45-59), Mahābhavagupta II (*EI, III*, pp. 355-59), *Gayāḍatunga* (JASB, 1909, V(N.S.) pp. 347-50, Raṇabhañja (*EI, XII*, pp. 321-25), Vidyabhañja (*EI, IX*, 271-77), Netrabhañja (*EI, XVIII*, 293-95), Kulastambha (*EI*, XII, pp. 156-59), Ranastambha (*JBORS, II*, pp. 396-400).

5 गत्वा॰ तपस्यन्तमुपेन्द्रपूर्वे पुरे तदा श्रीमदवन्तिवर्म्मा ।
भृशं समाराध्य तमात्मभूमिं कथंचिदानीय चकार पूताम् ॥
अथोपसद्याप्य च सम्यगैशीं दीक्षां स दक्षो गुरुदक्षिणार्थम् ।
निवेद्य तस्मै निजराज्यसारं स्वजन्मसाफल्यमवाप भूयः ॥१३॥

E.I., I, p. 355

king of Dāhala had presented their kingdoms to the pontiffs of Śaiva-Siddhānta school.

The *Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi* records a tradition that a Solaṅki chief had given whole of the Mālava province as a present to Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain and appointed the Paramāras to administer[1] it. An inscription from Achalagaḍha discloses the existence of *Vijaya-rājya*[2] of a Śaiva ascetic. The Chedi records describe Vāmadeva who is perhaps identical with Vāmaśambhu, as *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāājdhirāja-Parameśvara-Vāmadeva.*

Some of the ascetics belonging to the Guhāvāsī line of Śaiva Siddhānta were very influential. They initiated in the faith the kings of Varmman dynasty in the Punjab and Chedi, Paramāra and Chanderi-Pratihāra dynasties of Central India. This line sent its branches to far off south in the Tamil and Andhra areas where these ascetics filled the role of *rājagurus.* Inscriptions preserve an unbroken line oi Śaiva *rājagurus* of the Chedi kings running for more than two hundred and fifty years.

Sometimes, Purāṇas divide Śaivism in three categories—(i) Vedic, (ii) Tāntric and (iii) Mixed (*Miśra*).[3] In the mixed (*miśra*) school of Śaivism, the main deity Śiva was worshipped along with other four gods. This school is, therefore, same as the *Smārta* cult of the *pañchadevopāsanā.* Vedic Śaiva school appears to be same as Lākulīśa Pāśupata whereas Tāntric school was perhaps constituted by Kālānana, Kāpālika and other extreme sects. It may, however, be noted that even Lākulīśa Pāśupata is originally *Āgamic* but it is described in the Purāṇas as Vedic because it is comparatively more orthodox and in the beginning it recognised the Vedic institution of Varṇa. The Śaiva-Siddhānta school was *Āgamic.*

1 देवादेशाद्भुजद्वये लग्ने सति तं मालवदेशं सान्तः पुरं तस्मै देवाय दत्वा तद्रक्षाधिकृतान् परमारराजपुत्रान् नियोज्य स्वयमेव तापसीं दीक्षामंगीचक्रे ।

Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 11.

2 महाशैले श्री अचलेस्व (श्व) र महामठात् परमभट्टारक परममाहेस्व (श्व) रः परनिरंजनः कन्दर्पदर्पदलनस्वंवस (श) उद्योत्कर राज श्री सर्वेस्व (श्व) र महामुनीन्द्र विजयराज्ये ५-७ *J. Orissa H. R.*, 1952, I, p. 50

3 तांत्रिकं वैदिकं मिश्रं त्रिधा पाशुपतं शुभम् ।
तप्तलिंगांकशूलादिधारणं तान्त्रिकं मतम् ॥
लिंगरुद्राक्षभस्मादिधारणं वैदिकं भवेत् ।
रविं शम्भुं तथा शक्तिं विघ्नेशं च जनार्दनम् ॥
यजन्ति समभावेन मिश्रं पाशुपतं हि तत् ॥

Kūrma Purāṇa as quoted in *Śrīkarabhāshya.*

SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVISM

The *Malkāpuram*[1] *Stone Ins. of the time* of the *Kākatīya king Rudradeva* Ś. S. 1183 mentions four schools of Śaivism—(*a*) Śaiva, (*b*) Kālānana, (*c*) Śiva-Śāsana and (*d*) Pāśupata. Lists of these schools occur in the *Vāmana*[2] and *Śiva-Purāṇas,*[3] the Āgama-Pramānya[4] of Yāmunāchārya, the Śrī-bhāshya[5] of Rāmanuja, the commentary[6] of Vāchaspati Miśra on the *Śārīraka-bhāshya*, the *Shaḍdarśana-Samuchchaya*[7] of Haribhadra Sūrī and other *Āgamic*[8] works.

A comparison of these lists would indicate that the four important schools with their sub-sects were prevalent in the country :—

(*a*) Śaiva or more precisely Śaiva-Siddhānta school,
(*b*) Kālānana also known as Kāruka,
(*c*) Pāsupata with a branch of the Lākulīśa Pāśupata,
(*d*) Kāpālika with its associate cult of the Soma.[9]

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1 उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।
विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादिसमर्पणाय ।।
Viśveśvara, the Śaiva pontiff had sanctioned a land-grant for providing meals and clothes to the students and ascetics belonging to these four sects. *JAHRS*, IV. 147, ff.

2 आद्यं शैवं परिख्यातमन्यत्पाशुपतं मुने । तृतीयं कालवदनं चतुर्थञ्च कपालिनम् ।।

3 शैवाः सिद्धान्तमार्गस्था श्शैवाः पाशुपतास्तथा ।
शैवाः महाव्रतधराश्शैवाः कापालिकापरे ।। *Vāyaviya Saṁhita XXIX*

4 यथा माहेश्वरे तंत्रे विरुद्धं वहुजल्पितम् । चतुर्विद्याहि तत्सिद्धचर्यामार्गानुसारिणः ।।
यथा कापालिकाः कालामुखाः पाशुपतास्तथा । शैवास्तत्रच कापालमतमेवं प्रचक्षते ।
Āgamaprāmāṇya p.

5 इदानीं पशुपतिमतस्य वेदविरोधादसामंजस्याच्चनादरणीयतोच्यते । तन्मतानुसारिणश्चतुर्विधाः कापालाः कालामुखाः पाशुपताः शैवाश्चेति ।
On *Brahmasūtra* II. 2-35.

6 माहेश्वराश्चत्वारः शैवाः पाशुपताः कारुणिक कारुक सिद्धान्तिनः कापालिकश्चेति ।

8 ते च शैवादि भेदेन चतुर्धा भवन्ति । तदुक्तम्
आधारभस्मकौपीनजटायज्ञोपवीतिनः । स्वस्याचारादिभेदेन चतुर्धा स्युः तपस्विनः ।
शैवाः पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा । तुर्या कालामुखा मुख्या भेदास्तेषां तपस्विनाम् ।

7 शैवं पाशुपतं सौमं लाकुलं च चतुर्विधम् । *Suprabhedāgama, Kriyāpāda.*
Īśana Śivaguru paddhati, pt. III, Kriyāpāda, Ch. I, p. 6, quotes *Svāyambhu Tantra* as follows :
पुनः स्वेच्छावतारेषु तन्त्रं पाशुपतं तथा । वा (ला) कुलं सोमतन्त्रं च जगाद परमेश्वरः ।
तत्र शैवं तु मुख्यं स्याद् यदादौ शिवभाषितम् ।

9 The Kāpālikas are associated with the Soma-cult in inscriptions as well as in literature. *Vide*, *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, act III and see *infra.*

Sometimes it is mentioned as Śiva-Śāsana or Mahāvratadhara.[1] Some south Indian inscriptions mention the "six samayas or cults" which have been alternatively explained as (*a*) Bhairava, (*b*) Vāma, (*c*) Kālāmukha, (*d*) Mahāvrata, (*e*) Pāśupata and (*f*) Śaiva. The last four are the same as above. The 'Vāma' and 'Bhairava' cults are not mentioned in inscriptions. They may be same as kāpālika. The *Śaṅkara-Digvijaya* of Ānandagiri mentions some other six sects.[2] Literature contains some more names.[3]

1. PĀŚUPATA SCHOOL

1. HISTORY

A. Śrīkaṇṭha the Founder :—

The Mahābhārata mentions Pāśupata as one of the five religious schools. It is stated to have been revealed by Śrīkaṇṭha, the consort of Umā and son[4] of Brahmā. The tradition recurs in several works belonging

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[1] It may be noted that in the *Vāyavīya Saṁhita* quoted in fn.3 above *mahāvratā-dhara* occurs in place of Kālānana and distinct from the Kāpālika but vide *Haridatta Sūri* who takes it as a name of the Kāpālika sect. There seems to be some mistake in the *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā.* Dr. Bhandarkar seems to be indecisive. He sometimes identifies *mahāvratā-dharas* with Kālāmukhas and sometimes with Kāpālikas (p. 168).

[2] भुजद्वयलिंगधराः शैवाः । फाले त्रिशूलधारिणः रौद्राः । भुजद्वये डमरुधारिणः उग्राः फाले लिंगचिह्नधारिणः भट्टाः । हृदि त्रिशूलं शिरसि पाषाणलिंगञ्च धारिणो जंगमाः । ललाटे भुजद्वये हृन्नाभिषु लिंगधारिणः पाशुपता इत्युच्यन्ते ।

[3] (a) केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने ।
नाकुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तुभैरवम् ॥

Tantrādhikāri-nirṇaya, p. 2.

The *Lokāyata* sect has been mentioned here as a Śaiva school although different from the Soma cult.

(b) शैववैमलसिद्धान्ता आर्हताः कारुकाश्च ये ।

Tantrāloka, XIII, V. 8. Here *Vaimala* and *ārhatā* also seem to be subsects or schools of Saivism.

[4] सांख्यं योगं पांचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतन्तथा ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥६४॥
उमापतिर्भूतपतिः श्रीकण्ठो ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
उक्तवानिदमव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः ॥६७॥ *Śāntiparva*, 349.

to various schools of Śaivism and composed in different parts of the country. It is recorded in the *Tantrāloka*,[1] the *Śivadṛishṭi*,[2] the *Bṛihadyāmala*[3] the *Pingalāmata*[4] and the *Śiva Purāṇa*.[5] A commentary on the *Śaradātilaka*[6] begins with a salutation to Śrīkaṇṭha, the first teacher of the doctrine. The *Tantrālok*[7] [li]kewise describes Śrīkantha as the unique teacher on the earth. Aghoraśiva, the Śaiva Siddhānta ascetic of the Chola country commenting upon the *Ratnatraya* mentions Śrīkaṇṭha as the Guru to be saluted in the beginning.[8]

(i) *Works of Śrīkanṭha* :—The *Tantrāloka* mentions the *Māngalya-Śāstra* in which Śrīkaṇṭha discussed the nature of *Śakti* and *Śaktimān*.[9] The same work quotes in another context some verses from a book by[10]

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1 *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 5-6, *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 27.

2 कलौ प्रवृत्ते यातेषु दुर्गमगोचरम् । कलापिग्रामप्रमुखच्छिन्ने शिवशासने ।।
कैलासाद्रौ भ्रमन्देवो मूर्त्या श्रीकण्ठरूपया । अनुग्राहायवतीर्णश्चोदयामास भूतले ।।
Ibid, pp. 22-23.

3 ज्ञानौघेनसमाख्यातः पदबन्धजनेन तु ।
श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रसादेन सर्व्वोऽयं परिणतो मम ।। *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 102.
श्रीकण्ठे महान्प्रोक्तं भूत्वा सदाशिवपदात् । सरहस्यं महादेवि शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानसा ।
Ibid, p. 103.

4 अस्य तन्त्रस्य का संज्ञा, पिंगलामत संज्ञा·······। क कर्त्ता भगवान् श्रीकण्ठनाथ कर्त्ता । *Ibid*, p. 106.

5 श्रीकण्ठेन शिवेनोक्ता शिवायै च शिवागमाः ।
शिवाश्चितानां कारुण्यात् श्रेयसामेककारणम् ।। 9, *Vāyavīya*, Siva, Ch. *IX*.

6 श्रीकण्ठं वसुमन्तं वसुगुप्तं सोमानन्दं तथोत्पलाचार्यम् ।
लक्ष्मणममिनवगुप्तं वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च ।।
Quoted in *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 25n.

7 जयति गुरुरेक एव श्रीश्रीकण्ठो भुवि प्रथितः ।
तदपरमूर्त्तिर्भगवान् महेश्वरो भूतिराजश्च ।। *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 28.

8 सकलसंहितानामवतारकत्वेन गुरुं भगवन्तं श्रीकण्ठनाथं सर्वविघ्नापहं च गणपतिं···
···अभिवन्दते । *Ratnatgayam*, p. 1.

9 शक्तयोस्य जगत्कृत्स्नं शक्तिमांस्तु महेश्वरः ।
इति मांगल्यशास्त्रे तु श्रीश्रीकण्ठो न्यरूपयत् ।।४०।। *Tantraloka*, III, p. 347.
Jayaratha quotes verses from this work in the commentary.

10 In the commentary Jayaratha says that इति श्री कण्ठनाथोक्ति :
"this is the statement of Śrī Śrīkaṇṭha"
Śri Śrikanṭhī as an authoritative Āgama has also been frequently quoted by Jayaratha :—
एतच्च श्रीश्रीकण्ठयाभिधानपूर्वकं विस्तरत उक्तम् ।
Tantrāloka. comm., I, p. 39·

Śrīkanṭha. The colophon of a manuscript of the *Tantrāsāra*[1] deposited in the Nepal Darbar Library mentions Śrīkanthanātha, another form of Paśupati, the great Pāśupata teacher as the writer of the book.

(ii) *Śrīkanṭha in the Śaiva Pantheon* :—Like many other human teachers Lakulīśa, Goraksha, etc. Śrīkanṭha is also recognised as a god in the Śaiva pantheon. Thus he is mentioned as a deity in various positions in the Trik school. He is sometimes regarded as identical with Sadāśiva having five faces probably because he revealed the doctrine having five sources (*pañchaśrotorūpa*).[2] He is guardian-protector of *Siddhi* as well.[3] The form of Śrīkanṭha with five faces was accepted in the Lākulīśa school also. *The Cintrā Praśasti* mentions a temple for Srīkanṭha *pañcha-mukha*, i.e. Śrīkanṭha having five[4] faces. In the Śaiva Siddhānta school he is described as one of the eight Vidyeśvaras.[5] The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* also counts him amongst Vidyeśvaras.[6] *The*[7] *Bihari Ins.* describes Yuvarāja II who dedicated his whole empire to his Śaiva Siddhānta preceptor as always engaged in the worship of Śrīkanṭha.

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[1] A manuscript of the *Jñānakārikā* forms the suite with another text *Tatvasāra* the colophon of which reads.

श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकस्य मूर्त्तिधरपरमपाशुपताचार्य-श्रीकण्ठगुरुणा स्वात्महेतोः ज्ञानपुस्तकमिति शुभमस्तु ।

Bagchi, thereupon, remarks that this pretentious Śrī Śrīkanṭha "has probably nothing to do with the traditional *āchārya* of the Pāśupata sect bearing that name." But the description-"the incarnation (*mūrtidhara*) of Paśupati and 'the Great Pāśupata teacher' points towards Śrīkanṭha of the tradition.

[2] See *infra* p. 8

[3] प्रतिलोकं नियुक्तात्मा श्रीकण्ठो हठतो बहुः ।
सिद्धिर्ददात्यसावेवं श्रीमद्भैरवशासने ॥ *Tantra*. V, p. 30.

[4] श्रीकण्ठपंचमुखवासमधिष्ठितानि । येनाक्रियन्त कृतिनायतानि पंच ॥४०॥

EI, I, p. 284.

[5] The *pūrva-Kāraṇāgam* as quoted in Rao : *EHI*, II, II. App. 197.

अनन्तेशस्तथा सूक्ष्मश्शिवोत्तमश्चैकनेत्रक: ।
एकरुद्रस्त्रिमूर्त्तिश्च श्रीकण्ठश्च शिखण्डिनः ॥

[6] *Ibid*, p. 197.

[7] चित्रं यच्च सरस्वतीकृतरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरः । V. 69

EI, I. p. 261.

B. Lakulīśa :—

The *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* mentions Nā (*Lā*) *kulīśa*—Pāśupata school. Lakulīśa the founder of this Pāśupata school is stated as an incarnation of Śiva in the Purānas,[1] the *Ātma-Samarpaṇa,*[2] the *Kāravaṅa-Māhātmya,*[3] the *Pañchārthika*[4] commentary, the *Tantrāloka,*[5] etc. He is also mentioned in a number of inscriptions. According to the Purāṇas he was the last and twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva in a brāhmaṇa family at Kayāvarahaṇa (vulgo Kāravaṇa) in the Dabhoi Taluk of Baroda State. Rāśīkara states that he preached his first sermon at Ujjain.

The Pāśupata *Sūtras*, also known as the *Pañchādhyayi*, form the basis of this school. As this work is attributed to him, R. G. Bhandarkar regards Lakulīśa as the founder of the Pāsupata school. He observes, "the other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Paśupati whose incarnation he was supposed to be, as is done in the text of the *Mahābhārata* quoted above."[6] This means that the story of the promulgation of the Pāśupata doctrine by Śrīkanṭha is but a fiction

(i) *Śrīkanṭha and Lakulīśa :*—But the tradition of Śrīkanṭha as a teacher of the Śaiva religion occuring in the works of various schools of Śaivism from different parts of the country, the mention of his name in the list of teachers, his description "as unique teacher on earth" and lastly quotations from works attributed to him are very strong indications in favour of his historicity.

Bagchi has casually suggested that "Lakulīśa was probably his disciple and that these two were ṛesponsible for the foundation of the Pāśupata religion."[7]

The *Tantrāloka* associates Lakulīśa and Śrīkanṭha. It states that Śrīkanṭha and Lakulīśa are the only two authorities on *Śiva Śāsana.*[8] The

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1 *Vāyu*, ch. *XXIII.*, *Linga*, *XXIV*,

2 *Gaṇa Kārikā*, G.O.S., App. I, p. 25.

3 *Ibid*, App. IV, p. 37.

4 मनुष्यरूपी भगवान् ब्राह्मणकायमास्थाय कायावतरणे अवतीर्ण इति । तथा पद्भ्या-मुज्जयिनीं प्राप्तः ।···अतो रुद्रप्रचोदितः कुशिकभगवानभ्यागत्य··पृष्टवान् ।
etc. p.4.

5 *Tantrāloka*, *XIII*, p. 340.

6 *Vaiṣṇavism* etc. *Coll. Works of Bhandarkar*, *IV*, 'p. 172.

7 *HBD*, p. 405.

8 एतद्विपर्ययाद्ग्राह्यमवश्यं शिवशासनम् ।
द्वावाप्तौ तत्र च श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठलकुलेश्वरौ ॥ *Tantrāloka*, *XII*, p. 396.

same work describes Lakulīśa with other Śaiva incarnations as proclaimer of the glories of Śrīkaṇṭha.[1]

But Lakulīśa does not seem to be an immediate disciple of Śrīkantha because the accounts of Śrīkaṇṭha and Lakulīśa available from literature and inscriptions do not represent them as teacher and disciple on the other hand a tradition in the Āgama quoted by Abhinavagupta records the receiving of the doctrine by Lākula from Swachchhanda.[2] Moreover, references to the Pāsupata school occur centuries earlier than Lakulīśa.

It seems that the Pāśupata school was founded by Śrīkantha from which later on several branches sprung forth. The branch started by Lakulīśa was called after him as Lākulīśa Pāśupata.

2. HISTORY : SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVISM

A. Śiva Śāsana School :

The Pāśupata school founded by Śrīkaṇṭha is also called in literature as Śiva Śāsana.[3] It is mentioned in *the Malkāpuram Ins. of Rudradeva*[4]. It is described as five-fold and as having five sources (pañcha-srotorūpa).[5] All other schools are described to have originated from it.

B. Lākulīsa Pāsupata School :

Origin of the School :—The school was founded by Lakulīśa who as we have already seen is described as an incarnation of Śiva. Purāṇas and inscriptions mention Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kaurusha as his disciples.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 340.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 383.

[3] *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 34, *XII*, p. 397.

[4] उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।
विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादि समर्पणाय ॥
JAHRS, VI, p. 147 ff.

[5] तच्च पंचविधं प्रोक्तं शक्तिवैचित्र्यचित्रितम् ।
पंचस्रोत इति प्रोक्तं श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठशासनम् ॥१६॥
Tantrāloka, *XII*, p. 397.

The *pañchasrota* is explained by Jayaratha in *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 34 as :—
तत्र हि परमेश्वर एव चिद् आनन्द-इच्छा-ज्ञान-क्रियात्मक वक्त्रपंचकासूत्रणेन सदाशिवेश्वरदशामधिशयानः तद्वक्त्रपंचकमेलनया पंचस्रोतोमयं अभेद-भेदाभेद-भेददशोट्टंकनेन तत्तद्भेदप्रभेदवैचित्र्यात्मनिखिलं शास्त्रमवतारयति

Date of Lakulīśa :—R. G. Bhandarkar places the rise of the Pāśupata school in second century[1] B.C. while D. R. Bhandarkar suggested on the basis of *the Mathurā Pillar Ins. of the time of Chandragupta II* that Lākulīśa belonged to the second quarter of the first century A.D.[2] Although, this later date has been accepted by most scholars, it is not yet certain.[3]

Diffusion of the School :—*The Cintrā Praśasti of Śārṅgadeva* states that four branches (*Jātis*) sprung forth from the four disciples of Lākulīśa.

(*a*) *The Kuśika Lineage* :—Kuśika was the senior-most disciple of Lākulīśa. *The Mathurā Ins. of Chandragupta II* mentions ascetics belonging to his line. *The Udeypur Ins.*[4] *of Naravāhana* V.S. 1028=978 A.D. refers to Kuśika and records that ascetics characterised by "besmearing of ashes,

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[1] *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism & Other Minor Religions*, p. 116.

[2] *EI*, *XXI*, pp. 1ff.

[3] *The Mathurā Ins. of Chandragupta II* G.S.61 = 380 A.D. mentions *āchārya Udita* who was tenth from Kuśika. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies Kuśika with the homonymous disciple of Lakulīśa and, therefore, came to the conclusion that Lakulīśa, who must have flourished eleven generations before *Udita*, might be placed in second century A.D. But Rājaśekhara mentions seventeen preceptors flourished in this line from Lakulīśa to Rāśīkara. In this list there are two preceptors of the name Kuśika the direct disciple of Lakulīśa and the tenth *tirtheśa* who flourished in the sixth generation from Lakulīśa. The identification of Kuśika, therefore, is not certain. Rāśīkara the seventeenth *tirtheśa* has composed a commentary known as *Pāñchārthi Bhāshya.* The internal evidence of the *bhāshya* suggests an early date of its composition. Pāṭāliputra has been mentioned as the best fortified city. Laws are comparable with those of Manu. The only known writer quoted in the work is Manu. This indicates early fourth century A.D. Hence if Rāśīkara in early fourth century A.D. was seventh from Kuśika II, the preceptor *Udita* of the inscription in late fourth century A.D. would be naturally tenth from Kuśika II. I, shall, therefore, suggest the identification with Kasika II which would place Lakulīśa in second century B.C. This gets some confirmation from an Indonesian tradition which represents the four disciples with Patañjali as the Pāśupata pentad. (*HBD*. p. 406 n)

[4] इह कुशिकगार्ग्यकौरुषमैत्रेय इति तदंतसदः ॥१६॥
ततस्तपस्विनां तेषां चतुर्द्धा जातिरुद्‌गता ।
भुवं विभूषयामास चतुरर्णवमुद्रितां ॥१७॥ *EI*, *I*, p. 281.

[5] कुशिकादयोऽन्ये भस्मांगरागतरुवल्कजटाकिरीटलक्ष्माण आविर्भवन्मुनयः पुराणाः ।
L. 12. *BI*, p. 70.

wearing of the barks and matted hair" appeared in his line. Jain scholars mention eighteen *tīrtheśas* headed by Lākulīśa and Kuśika.[1] They are also referred to by Bhāva Sarvajña. These ascetics perhaps belonged to this line.

(*b*) *Gārgya Lineage* :—

(i) *The Cintrā Prasasti* discloses the existence of ascetics belonging to the *gotra* of Gārgya.[2]

(ii) *The Meaning of Gotra* :—Inscriptions mention several *gotras* of ascetics. The word *gotra* in connection with ascetics has been defined by Abhinavagupta as "disciples of a teacher". *Gārgya gotra* would, therefore, mean the disciples in the line of Garga.[3]

The Cintrā Praśasti mentions Kārttika-rāśī, Taporāśī, Valmīki-rāśī and his disciple Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka as belonging to this line.

(*c*) *Kaurusha Line* :—The third disciple was Kaurusha. Literature mentions a school of Śaivism by the name Kāruka.[4] Rāmānuja and Keśava Kaśmīrī in the enumeration of Śaiva schools substitute Kālānana by Kāruka-Siddhānta.[5] R. G. Bhandarkar, therefore, identifies Kārukas with Kālānanas.

He further suggests that Kāruka was either the corruption or the sanskritization of Kaurusha, the name of the third disciple of Lakulīśa who initiated the line of the Kārukas or the Kālānanas. The suggestion is confirmed by an inscription dated 1177 A.D. which describes the Kālānanas

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[1] नकुलीशोऽथ कौशिकः, गार्ग्यः, मैत्र्यः, कौरुषः, ईशानः, पारगर्ग्यः, कपिलाण्ड, मनुष्यकः, कुशिकः, अत्रिः, पिंगलः, पुष्पकः, बृहदार्यः, अगस्तिः, सन्तानः, राशीकरः विद्यागुरुश्च । एते तेषां तीर्थेशाः पूजनीयाः । Haribhadra : *Shaḍ-darśana Samuchchaya.* Rājasekhara Sūri also enumerates them. Bhāva Sarvajña mentions them in his commentary on the *Gaṇa-Kārikā* (p. 14). The *Cintra Praśasti* records that the first four after Nakulisa were the अन्तसदः (disciples ?) of Lakulīśa himself. These four are again described as disciples of Lakulīśa in the Purāṇas.

[2] *EI*, I, p. 282, V. 19.

[3] गोत्रंच गुरुसन्तानो मठिकाकुलशब्दितः । *Tantrāloka* III, p. 296.

[4] शैववैमलसिद्धान्ता आर्हताः कारुकाश्च ये ।
सर्वे ते पशवो ज्ञेया भैरवे मातृमण्डले ॥ *Ibid*, VIII, p. 184.
मौसले कारुकेचैव मायातत्वं प्रकीर्त्तितम् । *Ibid*, I, p. 70.

[5] *Vaishṇavism*, etc. p. 172.

as adhering to the *Lākulāgama-samaya*. *The Tandikoda Ins. of Ammarāja* furnishes even stronger evidence. It gives the history of a line of Kālāmukha ascetics who traced their origin to Lākulīśa.[1]

The history of this sect would be given a little later.

(*d*) *Ananta Gotra :—*

(i) Besides the branches mentioned above, an Āgamic tradition describes the continuation of the Lākula doctrine through *Ananta.*[2] Ascetics of this line, therefore, were described as belonging to *Ananta Gotra.*

(ii) *Ananta Gotra and the Kulas :—The Harsha Stone Ins.* records that Viśvarūpa flourished in "the tradition of *Kula*" while his disciple's disciple is described as belonging to the "*Kula*" cult of the *Sāṁsārikas.*[3] This piece of information is of very great interest as it furnishes definite evidence to show the affiliation of the *Kula* school with the Lākulas.

Jāti or the branch originated with Maitreya is not known.

(iii) *Ananta Gotra and Pāñchārthika Sect :—Harsha Stone Ins. of Vigrahapāla Chāhamāna V.S. 1030* records the *guru Viśvarūpa* who belonged to the Pāñchārthika sect of the Lākulas in the *ananta gotra.*[4] *Tewar Ins. of Gayakarṇadeva* K.S. 902=1151

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[1] *EI, XXIII,* pp. 161-170.

[2] *Jayaratha* (T. A. Comm., XII, p. 383) quotes it as from Āgama.
भैरवाद्भैरवीं प्राप्तं सिद्धयोगेश्वरी मतम् ।
ततः स्वच्छंददेवेन स्वच्छन्दाल्लाकुलेन तु ॥
लकुलीशादनन्तेन अनन्ताद्गहनाधिपिम् ॥

[3] महाराजावली चासौ शंभुभक्तिगुणोदया ।
श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवोऽस्यास्तस्माद्दिव्यः कुलक्रमः ॥२७॥
अनन्त गोच(त्)रे श्रीमान् पण्डित औत्तरेश्वरः ।
पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरुः ॥२८॥
भावरक्तोभवत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोल्लटः ॥३०॥
सांसारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्गम ॥३१॥ *EI. II*, p. 122.

[4] अनन्तगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित औत्तरेस्य (श्व) रः ।
पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरुः ॥२८॥
EI, I, p. 122; *pl.* facing p. 240.
The word *gochara* in the *pl.* reads like *gotre*. *Tra* with the *hala* assuming the form of *cha*. Anyway, the word '*anantagochara*' means in the line of '*ananta.*'

A.D. likewise describes Bhāvateja and his disciple Bhāvabrahma who flourished in the *ananta gotra* as Pāñchārthika.[1]

Pāñchārtha seems to be another name for the Pāśupata *Sūtras*. Śiva Purāṇa mentions *Pañchārthavidyā* as the highest type of philosophy[2] while *Pañchādhyāyī* is referred to by Keśava Kaśmīrī.[3] *Sarvadarśana—Saṁgraha* mentions the Pāśupata *Sūtras* as *Pañchārtha*.[4] Pāñchārthikas, therefore, seem to be the followers of Lākulīśa who composed the Pāśupata *Sūtras*. It is noteworthy that both these inscriptions mention the Pāñchārthikas of *ananta gotra*.

(iv) *Uttara Tantra* :—The same inscription describes Viśvarūpa as the master of *Uttara* (*tantra*). This *tantra* also occurs in the *Sdok Kak Thom* (*Kambuj*) *Ins. of Udayadityavarmman*,[5] *S. 974*. Bagchi identifies it with the *Uttara-Sūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattva Saṁhitā* a manuscript of which in Gupta characters is preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library.[6] Jayaratha also mentions *uttara* as a section of *Tantrika Saṁhitā*.[7]

(v) *Uttara-Pūrva and the Kaulas* :—*The Niśvāsa-tattva Saṁhitā* really consists of four sections—(i) *Mūla-Sūtra*, (ii) *Adi=Uttara-Sūtra*, (iii) *Prathama=Naya-Sūtra* and (iv) *Pūrva=Guhya-Sūtra*. The *Uttara-Sūtra* consists of "installation of images, sacrifices, initiation (*abhisheka* and *dīkshā*) and philosophy (*jñānayoga*) while the *Pūrva* or *Guhya-Sūtra* consists

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[1] गोत्रेऽनन्त समाह्वयेऽभवदिनप्रख्यस्तपस्तेजसा ।
दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्मनिरतः श्रीभावतेजागुरुः ॥
आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पांचार्थिको यः सुधी । *IA, XVIII*, p. 210. ff.

[2] *Vāyaviya Saṁhita*, II, XXIV, 169.

[3] *Vaishṇavism* etc., p. 173.

[4] *loc. cit.*

[5] शास्त्रं शिरश्छेदविनाशिखाख्यं
सम्मोहनामापि नयोत्तराख्यम् ।
तत्तुम्बुरोर्वक्त्रचतुष्कमस्य
सिद्धयेव विप्रः समदर्शयत् सः ॥२८॥ *Ins. of Kambuja*, p. 374.

[6] *Studies in Tantras*, pp. 6-8.

[7] *There are seven kinds of tantrika* texts-
पादो मूलं तथोद्धारं उत्तरं वृहदुत्तरम् । कल्पश्च संहिता चैव कथिता तव सुव्रते ॥
T.A.Com, XII, p. 387.

of mystic practices. *Lakshmīdhara* in his commentary on the *Saundarya Laharī*[1] divides the Kaulas into two categories—(i) *Uttara-Kaulas* who worship the images and *yantras* of gods and godesses and (ii) *Pūrva-Kaulas* the mystic who worship the female organ of a young woman.

Thus, the Pāñchārthika Viśvarūpa of Ananta Gotra seems to have been affiliated with the *Uttara-Kaulas.*

(*e*) *Chāpala Gotra* :—The *Amareśvara Temple Ins.* V.S. I(I)20 contains an account of Paṇḍita Gaṇḍadhvaja of the *chāpala gotra.*[2] He was a disciple of Vivekarāśi who was again a disciple of *Supūjita rāśi. The Ābu Ins. of the reign of Bhīma II* V.S. 1265=1208 A.D.[3] mentions *Kedārarāśī* who was the best of ascetics belonging to the *chāpala gotra* of the Nūtana monastery in Avanti. Significance of the *chāpala gotra* is not known.

(*f*) *Praṇāma Gotra* :—*The Amareśvara Temple Ins.* mentions the *Praṇāma gotra* of ascetics belonging to Someśvara monastery.[4]

2. PHILOSOPHY OF THE LAKULĪŚA PĀŚUPATA SCHOOL

A. *Nyāya-Pāśupata Philosophy :*

Āchārya Haribhadra Sūrī in his *Shaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya*[5] observes that the adherants of Nyāya school were Śaivas while the Vaiśeshikas were Pāśupatas. Guṇaratna[6] also repeats the same thing. It is a fact that the followers of both Nyāya and Vaiśeshika schools were devoted to Śiva[7]

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1 *Saundarya Laharī*, V. 41.

2 *EI, XXV*, p. 185, II. 54-56.

3 एतस्यां पुरि नूतनाभिधमठात् संपन्नविद्यातया ।
धीरात्मा चपलीयगोत्रविश्वे निर्व्वाणमार्गानुगः ॥
अमलचपलगोत्रप्रोद्यतानां मुनीनामजनि तिलकरूपस्तस्य केदारराशिः ।
IA, XI, pp. 220 ff.

4 *EI, XXV*, p. 185, L. 51.

5 अथ योगमतं ब्रूमः शैवमित्यपराभिधम् ।
अक्षपादो गुरुस्तेषां तेन ते ह्यक्षपादकाः ॥
अथ वैशेषिक ब्रूमः पाशुपतान्यनामकम् ।
Shaḍdarśana Samuchchaya, pp. 11-12.

6 परं शास्त्रेषु नैयायिकाः सदा शिवभक्तत्वाच्छैवा इत्युच्यन्ते वैशेषिकास्तु पाशुपता ।
Guṇaratna on *Shaḍdarśana Samuchchya, Ibid*, p. 30.

7 The Purāṇas mention Akshapāda and Kaṇāda as the disciples of Somaśarmā-an incarnation of Śiva at Prabhāsa. (*Vāyaviya*, Śiva Purāṇa ch. V, vv. 41-42). According to a tradition, Kaṇāda formulated the Vaiśeshika doctrine after propitiating Śiva. Jayanta, Udayana and Vyomāśiva make obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of their writings.

worship but the statement that the Vaiśeshikas were all Pāśupatas in contradistinction to Naiyāyikas who were described as Śaivas seems to be faulty.

The combined testimony of literature and inscriptions clearly shows that Vyomaśiva, the Vaiśeshika author belonged to Śaiva Siddhānta school.[1] Bhā-Sarvajña, the Pāśupata teacher who composed the famous commentary Ratnaprabhā on the *Gaṇa-Kārikā* was the celebrated author of the *Nyāya-bhūshaṇa.* Udyotakara who composed a gloss on the *Nyāya-bhāshya,* styles himself as a Pāśupata. Thus, there seems to be some mistake in the statement of Jain writers. The Śaivas were Vaiśeshikas in contradistinction to Pāśupatas who adhered to Nyāya school.

B. Pāñchārthika Philosophy :

Besides the general affiliation with the Nyāya school, the specific philsophy of the Pāśupatas was Pāñchārthika. The *pañchārtha-lākula-āmnāya*[2] and the pāñchārthika[3] sect have been mentioned in inscriptions. This *pañchārtha* or the five categories propounded by Lākulīśa in the *Pāśupata Sūtras* are (i) Effect (*Kārya*), (ii) Cause (*Kāraṇa*), (iii) Religious practices (*Vidhi*), (iv) Yoga and (vi) Cessation of miseries (*Dukkhānta*).

Inscriptions mention some of these principles.

(a) *Cause :*—Thus *Tewar Ins. of Gayakarṇa* set up by a Pāśupata ascetic invokes Śiva "who is an architect of the three worlds, a poet of the three Vedas, characterised by three Sāktis—*yatna* (activity), *bodha* (knowledge) and *icchhā* (desire) and who manifests himself in eight forms."[4]

The above verse in short sums up the Pāśupata conception of God—the Cause (*Kāraṇa*).

(i) *Śiva as Creator :*—Śiva is designated as *Pati* because he is endowed with *Śakti.*[5] He with *Śakti* creates the universe but like an architect he is only an efficient cause (*nimitta*).

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1 See *infra.*

2 पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोऽभवद्गुरुः ।।२८।। *EI.* II. p. 122.

3 आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थकचसां पांचार्थिको यस्सुधी ७
"पंचार्थबोध सुकृती" ११
भावब्रह्मसमस्तपरिचसु कलौ दृष्टो न पांचार्थिकः ।।
2 *IA.*, *XVIII*, p. 210 ff.

4 त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः ।
नित्यप्रयत्नबोधेच्छा सोऽष्टमूर्तिः श्रियेऽस्तुवः ।। १ *Ibid*, p. 210.

5 *Prayatna* (kriyā i.e. activity), *Bodha* (knowledge) and *Ichchhā* (desire) as mentioned in the inscription are the three Śaktis of *Pati. Vide* निरतिशयद्रक्क्रियाशक्ति पतित्वम् । *Gaṇākārikā* p. 11.

(ii) *Śiva Revealed Vedas* :—According to the Nyāya-Pāśupata philosophy, the Vedas are *paurusheya* as they have been revealed by Śiva.

(*b*) *Religious Practices* (*Vidhi*) :—They consist of the vows (*vratas*), specific practices known as *upahāras*, muttering of names (*japa*), circumambulation (*pradakshiṇā*) mystic practices, etc.

(*c*) *Yoga* :—Inscription testify to the importance of *yoga* in the Pāśupata school. The ascetic Bhāvateja had constantly practised *yoga* while his disciple Bhāva Brahma was "another Sanatkumāra to perform all the yogic practices mentioned in the Pātañjala literature."[1] *Niyama* (regulations), *Prāṇāyāma* (control of breath) and *Samādhi*[2] have been mentioned. in inscriptions. They also refer to mental states like—*maitrī* (friendliness), *muditā* (the state of happiness), *Karuṇā* (compassion) etc.[3]

(*d*) *Vow* (*Vrata*) :—The Pāśupata *vrata* consists in the besmearing of and sleeping over ashes. This is a very important and ancient practice. It frequently occurs in the Pāśupata literature[4] and is noted as the characteristic of Pāśupata ascetics.

The Udeypur Ins. of Naravāhana mentions ascetics of this school "having the characteristics of the besmearing of ashes,[5] wearing of the

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1 यो ब्रह्मचर्यविधिनान्यसनत्कुमारः पातंजलागमनिरूपितयोगसंघः । १०
IA, XVIII, 210 ff.

2 प्राणायाम-समाधि-सिद्धनियमध्यानासनैरन्वहं १३ *Ibid.*

3 मैत्री तस्य सुर्वाभिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे योगिनः
शिष्यानां करुणा भवेच्च विषयोऽपेक्षा शिवज्ञानतः । १४ *Ibid.*

4 The earliest reference occurs in the *Atharvaśirsha Upanishad* I para 67. The application of ashes is termed as *Pāśupata-vrata* and is meant for the loosening of the fetters of *paśu* (*paśu-pāsa-vimokshāya*). Vārāhamihira refers to *sabhasma-dvija* who is entitled to consecrate the image of Śiva. Utpala explains '*sabhasma-dvija*' as a Pāśupata. (DHI, p. 230). The *Pāśupata Sūtras* (pp. 8, 9) enjoin to besmear the body with ashes thrice a day भस्मनि त्रिषवणं स्नायीत and to sleep on ashes भस्मनि शयीत Rāśīkara quotes an anonymous verse to the effect that a person who sleeps on ashes is freed from sins of heinous crimes :—
मद्यं पीत्वा गुरुदारांश्च गत्वा स्तेयं कृत्वा ब्रह्महत्यांच कृत्वा ।
भस्मोद् ध्वस्तो भस्मराशौ शयाना रुद्राध्यायी मुच्यते पातकेभ्यः ।
Panchārthī-Bhāshya p. 29.
Hiuen Tsiang describes them as 'the ash-besmeared *tirthakas* while Rājaśekhara (p. 11) and Haribhadra mention them as 'ascetics who are anointed with ashes.'

5 भस्मांगरागतरुवल्कजटाकिरीटलक्ष्माण आविर्भवन्मुनयः पुराणाः । *BI.* p. 70.

barks of trees and matted hair." According to the *Harsha Ins.* nakedness, matted hair, besmearing of ashes, sleeping on earth, food received as alms and hand used as drinking cup" were the features of ascetic Bhāvodyota.[1] Sleeping over ashes has been ordained in the *Pāśupata Sūtras*. *The Tewar Ins.* praises Bhāva Brahma because he sleeps over pure ashes.[2]

(i) *Sādhanā or Mystic Practices* :—These are objectionable acts deliberately performed by ascetics to bring themselves to ridicule. One of these is *Sṛingāraṇa* which is showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a beautiful lady. Rao suggests that some of the obscene sculptures in ancient temples depict these practices.[3]

(ii) *Other Practices* :—Bhāva Brahma has been described in inscriptions as one "who takes very small quantity of meals obtained through[4] begging." Kauṇḍinya enjoins ascetics to take a very small quantity of meals and quotes a verse which highly extols the practice of begging.[5]

(iii) *Pūrtta Activities* :—In the *ananta* school of the Pāśupatas, *Pūrtta* activities were also recognised. The *Tewar Ins.* states that "the final deliverance of ascetics is attained by *pūrtta* (which is a *nivartaka* activity) and knowledge (bodha). Therefore, Bhāva Brahma who desired salvation built this temple of Śiva."[6] The *Swachchhanda Tantra* which as we have already seen was recognised in the *ananta* school, mentions two kinds of worshippers—(*a*) the devotee who travels on the path of knowledge and who is always engaged in the worship through *mantras* and (*b*) the worshipper who follows the path of the world and is engaged in performing the *ishṭa* and *pūrtta* activities.[7] The ascetic Bhāva Brahma combined both the ways of knowledge (*bodha*) and *nivartaka* activity (*pūrtta*).

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1 दिगम्बरं जटा भस्म तल्पं च विपुलं मही ।
भिक्षावृत्तिः करः पात्रं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥४१॥

कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्मशायी L. 10, *IA, XVIII*, 210ff.

3 *EHI*, I, p. 23n.

4 मितभैक्षभोजी LL. 9-10. *IA, XVIII*, pp. 210 ff.

5 The *Pāśupata Sūtras*, 14 and commentary on it (p. 119).

6 पूर्तेन धर्म्मेण निवर्त्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत् संयमिनश्च बोधात् ।
एतद् द्वयं प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुर्व्यधापयदेवमिमां शिवस्य ॥१६॥
IA, XVIII, p. 210 ff.

7 ज्ञानवांश्चाभिपिक्तश्च मन्त्राराधनतत्परः ।
त्रिविधायास्तु सिद्धिर्वै सो त्राहः शिवसाधकः ॥८४॥
द्वितीयो लोकमार्गस्थ इष्टापूर्त्तविधौ रतः ।
कर्मकृत्फलमाकांक्षंशुभैकस्थो अवग्रह ॥८५॥

Swacchanda Tantra, Paṭala 4,
Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

(*e*) *Dukkhānta :—The Tewar Ins.* records that the ascetic Bhāvateja obtained "the association (*sāyujya*) with Śiva as a consequence of enlightenment (*bodha*)."[1] The pāśupatas believe in the *sāyujya* form of salvation. It is mentioned in the *Pāśupata Sūtras* and is elaborately discussed in the commentary of Rāśīkara. According to it, a devotee does not merge himself in the Godhead but merely obtains association with Him.[2]

3. PANTHEON

Pāśupatas are devoted to Śiva. According to scriptures, they worship Śiva besmeared with ashes and wearing *jaṭā-mukuṭa.*[3] *Isāna-śiva-guru-paddhati* describes the Pāśupata-form of Śiva which might have been the form for the Pāśupatas[4] to worship.

A. The Eight Forms of Śiva :—

The Tewar Ins. invokes Śiva who manifests himself in eight forms.[5] *The Harsha Stone Inscription* set up by a Pāñchārthika eulogises the mountain Harsha where Śive in eight forms, the guardians of eight *siddhis*, resides.[6] These eight forms of Śiva are mentioned in a number of inscriptions in India and Greater India.[7]

The concept of eight forms is very ancient and is associated with the cult of Paśupati. These forms are (i) Śarva, (ii) Bhava, (iii) Īśāna, (iv) Rudra, (v) Ugra, (vi) Bhīma, (vii) Paśupati and (viii) Mahādeva. They are mentioned in *Śatapatha* and *Sānkhāyana Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras* etc.

(i) *Ashṭa-Pushpikā :—*The worship of these forms with *ashṭa-pushpikā* is also mentioned in inscriptions. *The Paśupati Temple Ins. of Jayadeva*

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1 शिवस्य सायुज्यमवाप बोधात् ८ *IA, XVIII,* 210 ff.

2 साक्षाद् रुद्रेण सह संयोगः सायुज्यम् ।······योगपर्य्यायोऽवगम्यते ।
Pañchārthi Bhāshya, p. 131.

3 *EHI, II, I,* Introduction p. 29.

4 *Vol.* IV, p. 414.

5 त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः ।
नित्यप्रयत्नबोधेच्छा सोऽष्टमूर्तिः श्रियेऽस्तु वः ।। *IA, XVIII,* p. 210 f.

6 अष्टमूर्त्तिर्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धयष्टकविभुः स्वयम् ।
महिमा भूधरस्यास्य V. 11, *EI, II,* p. 120.

7 *Devapaṭṭan Praśasti of Śrīdhara EI, II,* p. 439 V-2. *Paśupati Temple (Nepal) Ins. of Jayadeva,* (*IA, IX,* 178) *Mebon Stale Ins. of Rājendra-varmman* (*Ins. of Kambuja,* pp. 193 ff) *Sdok Kak Thom Ins. of time of Udayāditya-varmman* (loc. cit.) etc. pp. 361 ff.

records a royal present of an 'eight-petalled silver lotus to the god so that Eight Forms may be accommodated on its petals.[1] *The Sdok Kak Thom Ins. of Udayāditya-varmman* states that the royal priest used to offer daily an *ashṭa-pushpikā* to *ashṭa-tanu.*[2] The worship by *ashṭa-pushpikā* is described by Bāṇa in the *Harsha-charita.*[3]

Inscriptions indicate that this cult of *ashṭa-mūrtti* was specially associated with the Pāśupatas.[4]

B. Pañcha-Brahma :

Śrī-Kanṭha-pañcha-mukha mentioned in the *Cintrā Praśasti* was same as the *pañcha-mukha* form representing *Sadyojāta, Tatpurusha, Vāmadeva, Iśāna* and *Aghora.* It may be noted that the *Pāśupata Sūtras* are divided in five sections each dealing with one of these five forms.

C. Śrī-Kanṭha, Ananta, Lakuliśa and Goraksha :

These seem to be the Śaiva teachers who later on elevated to the position of deities. Śrī-Kantha and Ananta are mentioned as *Vidyeśvara*[5] while Lakulīśa is described as an incarnation of Śiva. Goraksha, as we shall see, was one of the five members of the Pāśupata pentad.

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[1] मूर्तीरष्टाभिरष्टौ मह्यितुमतुलैः स्वैर्दलैरष्टमूर्त्तेः । V. 19. *IA, IX*, p. 178.

[2] अतन्द्रिताभ्यस्तविचार्य्यशास्त्रसारस्समध्यापितवांश्च काले ।
योऽदात्स्वयं प्रत्यहमष्टपुष्पीन्तनूनपातोऽष्टतनोश्च तुष्टये ॥६७॥
Ins. of Kambuja, p. 377.

[3] अथ महतः कार्पटिकवृन्दस्य मध्ये प्रातरेव स्नातम् । दत्ताष्टपुष्पिकम्
Harsha-charita (Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition), p. 103.
See also.
अवनिपवनवनगगनदहनतपनतुहिनकिरणयजमानमयीमूर्तीरष्टावपि ध्यायन्ती सुचिरमष्टपुष्पिकामदात् । *Ibid*, p. 21.

[4] It is mentioned in the invocation of the Pañchārthika inscriptions. See fn. 1.

[5] अनन्तश्च त्रिमूर्त्तिश्च सूक्ष्मः श्रीकण्ठ एव च। शिवशिख एकनेत्र एकरुद्रश्च ते क्रमात् ॥
Quoted from *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* in *EHI, II*, II, Appendix. Ananta as Vidyeśvara is mentioned in the *Tantrāloka*, and Śaiva Siddhānta literature. Thus *Sarvadarsana Saṁgraha* in the chapter on the Śaiva Darśana quotes :
अनन्तश्चैव सूक्ष्मश्च तथैव च शिवोत्तमः ।
एकनेत्रस्तथैवेकरुद्रश्चापि त्रिमूर्त्तिकः ॥
श्रीकण्ठश्च शिखण्डी च प्रोक्ता विद्येश्वरा इमे ॥

4. NAMES OF THE PĀŚUPATAS

They generally end in '*rāśī*'. They are, sometimes, preceded by the titles *bhāva* or *gaṇda.* Whatever little evidence could be gathered from inscriptions indicates that the Kālānana ascetics who were perhaps the disciples of Kaurusha and the ascetic of Garga school have *rāśī*—ending[1] names while ascetics of *Praṇāma* and *Ananta-gotras* have the title of *bhāva.*[2] Ascetics of the Gārgya branch bore the title of Gaṇḍa which is probably the designation of a pontiff.[3]

II. KĀPĀLIKA SCHOCL

As is natural, there are few epigraphic references to Kāpālikas. *The Chhatra Chaṇḍeśvara* (*Nepal*) *Ins. of Jishṇugupta* mentions the Pāśupata teachers wearing the garland of skulls.[4] *The Tilakawādā CP. of the time of Bhoja Paramāra* contains a reference to an ascetic who had taken *mahā-vrata.*[5] As we would see, these *mahāvratikas* were identical with Kāpālikas. Kāpālikas are also associated with Śiva-Śāsana and Soma-Siddhānta.

Early History of the Kāpālikas :—The earliest reference to the Kāpālikas occurs in the *Maitri Upanishad*[6] which was composed in the post-*sūtra* period. They are mentioned in the *Purāṇas,*[7] *tāntric* works, the *Matta-vilāsa,*[8] the *Mālatī Mādhava,*[9] the *Karpūra-mañjarī,*[10] the *Prabandha-*

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1 *The Cintrā Praśasti* mentions *Kārttika-rāśi*, *Tapo-rāśi* and *Vālmiki-rāśi.* Ascetics of *Chāpaliya Gotra* in the *Abu Ins.* have also *rāśi*-ending names-*Vālkalarāśi*, *Jyeshṭharāśi* and *Kedāra-rāśi* and in *Amareśvara Temple Ins.* they have *Supūjitarāśi*, *Vivekarāśi. The Bheraghat Ins. of Alhanadevi* mentions a Pāśupata ascetic Vyomarāśi of Lāṭa lineage. For Kālām-mukhas see *Bhandarkar*, p. 171.

2 Bhāva Vālmīki belonged to *Praṇāma gotra* (EI, *XXV*, 183) while Bhāva-brahma and Bhāva-teja (I *A*, *XVIII*, 210 ff) Bhāvarakta and Bhāvodyota (*EI*, *II*, pp. 122-23) were ascetics of *Ananta gotra.*

3 Thẹ *Cintra Praśasti* (*EI*, *I*, p. 284).

4 मुण्डशृंखलिक पाशुपताचार्य पर्षदि (परिषदि)

5 *P* & *T. O. C.*, 1919, Poona, 319 ff.

6 अथ ये चान्ये ह वृथा कषायकुण्डलिनः कपालिनः । *VI*, *Maitrāyaṇi Upanishad.*

7 *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā*, *XXIX*.

8 It depicts revelry of an innocent Kāpālika whose *kapāla* was taken away by a dog.

9 Aghoraghanṭa and Kapāla-kuṇḍalā are the Kāpālika characters in the play.

10 I, V. 23.

chandrodaya,[1] the *Chaṇḍa-kauśika*[2] etc. The Śrībhāṣya[3] of Rāmānuja furnishes interesting facts regarding their religious practices. The *Lalita-vistara*[4] states that the bearing of *kapāla* was regarded as a purificatory act by the hetrodox persons.

A. Mahā-Vrata-Dhara :

The Tilakawāḍā CP. of the reign of Bhoja 1130 V.S. describes an ascetic Dinakara who was *mahā-vrata-dhara* and was like Śiva in the form[5] of Kapālin. A grant was sanctioned by Nāgavardhana, the nephew of Pulakeśi II for the worship of god Kapāleśvara and the maintenance of *mahāvratins* attached to the temple.[6] An inscription from Ramnad Dist. (Madras) of the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya mentions a monastery of the *mahā-vratins.*[7]

Mahāvrata in Literature :—This sect occurs in *Śiva Purāṇa, Shad-darśana-samuchchaya, Kathā-sarit-sāgara,*[8] *Yaśastilaka-champu*[9] and *Nala-champu.*[10]

(*a*) *Identification :—*

(i) *Mahā-Vratins and Kālāmukhas :*—The *Śiva-Purāṇa* mentions maha-vrata-dharas in place of the Kālānanas and hence R. G. Bhandarkar regards them as identical.[11] The *Nala-champu* of Trivikrima Bhaṭṭa composed in tenth century A.D. des-

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1 Act *III* introduces a Kāpālika who holds a debate with a Jain monk and a Buddhist *bhikshu.*

2 In the *IV* act *Dharma* appears in the form of a Kāpālikạ.

3 Rāmānuja (*II.* 2-35) and Yāmunāchārya both quote the following verses :—

यथाहुः कापालाः

मुद्रिकाषट्कतत्वज्ञः परममुद्राविशारदः। भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वाणमृच्छति ।
कंठिका रुचकं चैव कुण्डलं च शिखामणिः। भस्म यज्ञोपवीतं च मुद्राषट्कं प्रचक्षते ॥

4 कपालखट्वांगधारणैश्च शुद्धिं प्रत्यवगच्छन्ति संमूढाः *XVII,*

5 उदकग्राहकः तत्र महाव्रतधरो मुनिः । दिनकरो नाम यः साक्षात्कपालीव सं(शं)करः ॥
P & T. O. C. 1919, Poona, p. 319.

6 *JBBRAS., XIV*, p. 26. *Bhandarkar*, p. 168.

7 Handiqui : *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 359.

8 5. 2. 81. describes a *mahāvratin* as bearing a *kapāla.*

10 I. 115.

p. 164.

11 Bhandarkar, p. 168. He is indecisive. See also *supra* p. 4 fn. 1,

cribes Kālāmukhas as falling under the class of the *mahā-vratikas.*[1]

(ii) *Mahā-Vratins and Kāpālikas* :—But there is overwhelming evidence in favour of their identification with the Kāpālikas. The *Tilakavādā*[2] *CP.* describes a mahā-vratin as Śankara in kapālī form. The above-mentioned Chālukya grant was sanctioned for the shrine of Kapāleśvara and mahā-vratika ascetics[3] attached to it. Rājaśekhara enumerates the mahā-vrata sect along with the Kālāmukha and in place of the Kāpālika school.[4] Jagaddhara in his commentary explains the Kāpālika-*vrata* as mahā-vrata.[5] Kathā-sarit-sāgara[6] describes a mahā-vratika as Kāpālika. *Matta-vilāsa* contains a verse in which a Kāpālika describes Śiva as undergoing mahā-vrata.[7] Chaṇḍapāla explains *mahā-vrata* in the commentary of the *Nala-champū* as *Kāpālika*[8] *vrata.*

Thus, it is certain that the *mahā-vratikas* were identical with Kāpālikas. As Kāpālikas were associated in literature with Kālāmukhas because of certain common practices, *Mahā-vratikas* were sometimes confused with Kālānanas.

(*b*) *Vrata and Mahā-Vrata* :—Gondopharnes is one of those early foreign rulers on whose coins Śiva appears. It is, therefore, significant that on most of the coins he bears the title *deva-vrata* where 'deva' is evidently used in the sense of Śiva. The *Bhāgavata* mentions ascetics who had taken *bhava-vrata* and describes them as wearing bones (skulls), besmearing ashes on body and having matted[9] hair. The description tallies with Kāpālika

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1 कलियुगशिवशासनस्थितिमिव महाव्रतिकान्तःपातिमिः कालमुखैर्वानरैः
संकुलामनेकधाभिन्नस्रोतसं च p. 164.

2 महाव्रतधरो मुनिः । दिनकरो नाम यः साक्षात्कपालीव सं (शं) करः ॥
P. & T. O. C, Poona, p. 319.

3 *JBBRAS, XIV*, p. 26.

4 शैवाः पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा ।
तुर्याः कालमुखा मुख्या भेदा एते तपस्विनाम् ॥ p. 12.

5 Bhandarkar, p. 183.

6 5. 2. 81.

7 आस्थाय प्रयतो महाव्रतमिदं बालेन्दुचूड़ामणिः
स्वामी नो मुमुचे पितामहशिरच्छेदोद्भवादेनसः । १७

8 P. 164. *Nirnayasāgara Edition.*

9 भवव्रतधरा ये च ता समनुव्रताः, पाखण्डिनस्ते भवन्तु सच्छास्त्रपरिपंथिनः ।
नष्टशौचाः मूढधियो जटाभस्मास्थिधारिणः विशन्ति शिवदीक्षायां यत्र दैवं सुरासवम् ॥
Bhāgavata, 8. 2.

ascetics. The tradition of *vrata*, therefore, may be traced to the beginning of Christian era.

B. Kāpālika and Śivaśāsana :

The Malkāpuram Ins. of Rudradeva mentions Śivaśāsana probably in the sense of the Kāpālika.[1] The *Prabodha-chandrodaya* describes the Kāpālika faith as *Pārameśvara-Siddhānta* which seems to be the same as Śivaśāsana initiated by Śrī Kaṇṭha.[2] The *Śābara Tantra* mentions Śrī Kaṇṭha as one of the original twelve āchāryas. This may indicate that it was the original Pāśupata school started by Śrī Kaṇṭha. *The Varāha Purāṇa* also narrates that the Pāśupata doctrine was originally given to Kāpālikas.[3]

But Śivaśāsana revealed by Śrī Kaṇṭha was different from the Kāpālika faith. According to a tradition enshrined in the *Tantrāloka*,[4] school which maintains unity-in-diversity was started by *Śrīnātha* the mind-born son of Śrī Kaṇṭha. This unity-cum-diversity (*bhedābheda*) school is same as the Kāpālika faith. Śrīnathā is mentioned as originator of the Kāpālika school in the *Śābara Tantra*[5] also while Śrī Kaṇṭha is regarded only a teacher besides him.

The above discussion would indicate that the Kāpālika school during this period was sometimes identified with *Śivaśāsana.*

C. Kāpālikas and Śiva :

Śaivāgamas quoted by Rao state that the Kāpālikas worship Śiva

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[1] उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।
विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादिसमर्प्पणाय ॥ *JAHRS, IV*, 145 ff.
The four important schools mentioned by Rāmānuja, ·Yāmunāchārya etc *(supra* p. 3*)* were four -(i) Śaiva, (ii) Pāśupata, (iii) Kālānana and (iv) Kāpālika. The first three schools are identical with (i) Śaiva ascetics, (ii) Kālānana and (iii) persons having Pāśupata vow-mentioned in the inscription. The remaining Śivaśāsana, therefore, seems to be identical with the Kāpālikas.

[2] अहो पुण्यं कापालिकचरितमहो श्लाघ्यः सोमसिद्धान्तः ।
प्रविष्टाः स्म पारमेश्वरं सिद्धान्तं । प्रवेशय मां पारमेश्वरीं दीक्षाम् ।
Jayaratha, the commentator of the *Tantrāloka* (I, p. 73) states
पारमेश्वरतन्त्रे "शिवशासने" इति पंचस्रोतोरूपे पारमेश्वरदर्शन इत्यर्थः ।

[3] *EHI, II, I. Intro.* pp. 1-3.

[4] *Supra* p. 5.

[5] Dwivedi : *Nātha Sampradāya*, p. 4.

wearing a garland of bones.[1] The *Mahā-vrata-dharas* mentioned in the Chālukya inscriptions were attached to the Kapāleśvara temple. The Kapāleśvara form of Śiva is mentioned in the *Nirmaṇda CP. of Śarva-varmman.*[2] *The Prabandha-chandrodaya*[3] describes the worship of *mahā-bhairava* by the Kāpālikas.

The terrific aspect of Śiva in the form of *mahā-bhairava* was thus worshipped by the Kāpālikas.

Inscriptions do not give any information regarding their religious practices.

III. SOMASIDDHĀNTA

This school is mentioned in the *Prabhāsapāṭana Ins. of Kumārapāla Val. S.*[4] 850=1169 A.D., *the Verāvala Ins. of Bhīma II*[5] and *the Chhatra-chaṇḍeśvara (Nepal) Ins. of Jishṇugupta.*[6]

This cult seems to be quite influential in ancient times although no literature of this school is available now. It occurs in *tantras* and *Purāṇas* as quoted by *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati,*[7] *Tantradhikāra-nirṇaya,*[8] *Vīrami-trodaya*[9] and *Darśana-kaṇikā-saṁgraha.*[10] The *Prabandha-chandrodaya* also gives some interesting information. The Bhāshyachandra[11] of Raghūttama

[1] *EHI, II, I, Intr.* p. 29.

[2] *CII, III,* pp. 286-91.

[3] Act, *III,* V. 13.

[4] *BI,* pp. 186-187

[5] *Ibid,* p. 208 ff.

[6] *IA, IX,* p. 174.

[7] वा (ला) कुलं सोमतन्त्रं च जगाद परमेश्वर: । *ISG, III,* p. 6.

[8] Chakravarti : *The Some or Sauma Sect of the Śaivas, IHQ, VIII,* p. 220. *Tantrādhikāra-nirṇaya* (p. 2 of Rājarājeśvarī Press, Benaras) attributes the following verse to *Vasishṭha*-and *Linga-Purāṇas* :-
केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने ।
नाकुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तु भैरवम् ॥
while it (p. 13) quotes from *Sūtasaṁhita* :-
कापालं नाकुलं चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभा: ।
तथा पाशुपतं सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥

[9] *Vīramitrodaya* (I, p. 22) as quoted from the *Kūrma purāṇa*
वामं पाशुपतं सोमं लांगलं चैव भैरवम् । न सेव्यमेतत् कथितं वेदवाह्यं तथेतरम् ।

[10] ननु सोम: कामात्मवादी । तदपि भारते परमात्मस्तोते तस्मै कामात्मने नम: ॥
Quoted by *Chakravarti,* (IHQ, VIII, p. 221) from a manuscript.

[11] P. 30 (Nirṇaya Sagara edition),

and the Akulavīra-tantra[1] of Matsyendranātha make a passing reference to it. Information of exceptional interest, however, comes from the Chinise texts on logic.[2]

Stories regarding *Soma* of inscriptions and Somaśarmmā of the Purāṇas who are credited with the founding of a Śaiva school at Prabhāsa seem to be the two versions of the same tradition. It may also be noted that Somaśarmmā is described as the preceptor of Akshapāda, the founder of Nyāya system and Kaṇāda the originator of Vaiśeshika system. Thus, he is associated with logic also. The Naya-soma school of logic whose existence is disclosed by the Chinese texts and which was fore-runner of the Akshapāda system might have been named after him. Thus, there is a great possibility of Soma being a historical figure who founded a Śaiva school of devotion and a *nyāya* school of thought before Akshapāda who has been placed variously in fourth, third and second century A.D. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūshaṇa,[3] however, places him in 150 A.D. and this seems to be the most plausible date. The *Soma* school, therefore, might have been originated before second century A.D.

1. *Founder of the Cult:—The Prabhāsa Pāṭana Ins.* records that Soma (moon) had constructed a golden temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa and after originating his cult at the instance of Śiva gave the place to the Pāśupatas.[4] The *Purāṇas* state that Śiva incarnated himself at Prabhāsa as Somaśarmmā who had four disciples—(i) Akshapāda, the founder of Nyāya school, (ii) Kaṇāda, the founder of Vaiśeshika school, (iii) Ulūka, a teacher of logic sometimes identified with Kaṇāda and (iv) Vatsa.[5] The

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[1] सम्वादयन्तिं ये केचिन् न्यायवैशेषिकास्तथा ।
बौद्धास्तु अरिहन्ता ये सोमसिद्धान्तवादिनः ॥७॥ *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya*, p. 84.

[2] Pre-Diṅnāga Buddist Texts on Logic fɹom Chinise Sources—XXVIII—XXIX.

[3] The Japanese scholar H. Ui places him between fourth and second century A.D. while Prof. L. Suali dates him in C. 300-350 A.D. *History of Indian Logic*, p. 50 fn.

[4] सोमः सोऽस्तु जयी स्मरांगदहनो यं निर्म्मलं निर्म्ममे ।
गौर्याः शापबलेन वै कृतयुगे दृश्यत्वमोपेयुषां ।
प्रादात्पाशुपतार्यसाधुसुधियां यः स्थानमेतत्स्वयं ।
कृत्वा स्वामथ पद्धति शशिभृतो देवस्य तस्याज्ञया ॥३॥ *BI*, pp. 186-187.

[5] सप्तविंशो यदा व्यासो जातूकर्ण्यो भविष्यति ।
प्रभासतीर्थमाश्रित्य सोमशर्मा तदाप्यहम् ॥४१॥
तत्रापि मम ते शिष्याः भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।
अक्षपादः कणादश्चोलूको वत्सस्तथैव च ॥४२॥ *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā*, Ch. V.

Chinese sources disclose the existence of a school in logic called *Na-ya-su-mo* i.e., *Nayasoma*. Prof. Tucci notes influence of this school on the *Gautama Sūtras* as known to the Chinese writers.[1] The word Naya-Soma evidently means 'school of Nyāya associated with Soma'. It is further to be noted that both schools of logic—Nyāya and Vaiśeshika are affiliated with Śaivism.

2. *Kāpālika faith and Somasiddhānta :—The Prabandha-chandrodaya* identifies Kāpālikas and Soma-Siddhāntins.[2] *Chhatra chaṇḍeśvara Ins.*[3] records them in association with the Kāpālikas. Tāntric literature, however, mentions them as two different schools.[4]

3. *Somasiddhānta in Early Medieval Age :—The Verāvala Ins. of Bhīma II* records that the creed propagated by Soma declined in due course and thereafter Viśveśvara-rāśi, a partial incarnation of Śiva obtained instructions in dream to revive the doctrine.[5] He, therefore, in the beginning of thirteenth century made vigorous attempts for the propagation of Somasiddhānta.

A. Its Prevalence :

During this period, Somasiddhānta was prevalent in Nepal and Gujrat.

4. *Somasiddhānta and 'Chandraśekhara-Mūrtti' :—The Verāvala Ins. of Bhīma II* which records the architectural activities of Viśveśvara for reviving the Soma creed, begins with an invocation to Śiva who was as if *rasāyana* for moon.[6] The *Prabodha-chandrodaya* states that liberated souls, according to this school, assume the form of *Chandraśekhara* embraced by consorts as beautiful as Pārvatī.[7] It seems that the *Umā-sahita-chandraśekhara* form was specially worshipped by ascetics of this school.

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1 Tucci, *loc. cit.*

2 अहो पुण्यं कापालिकचरितमहो श्लाध्यः सोमसिद्धान्तः । *Third Act*, p. 119.
The Kāpālika is introduced in the play as-
ततः प्रविशति कापालिकरूपधारी सोमसिद्धान्तः ।

3 मुण्डशृंखलिक पाशुपताचार्य पर्षदि······सोमखडडुकानांच *IA, IX*, 174.
"*Khaḍḍuka* occurs on other inscriptions as a name of certain priest of Siva."

4 कपालं नाकुलं चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभाः ।
तथा पाशुपतं सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥ *Tantrādhikāra-nirnaya*, p. 2.

5 *BI*, p. 209-10 ; VV. 18.19

6 प्रालेयांशुवपुरसायनमसौ श्रेयांसि सोमेश्वरः । *BI*, 208.

7 पार्वत्त्या : प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानंदमालिंगितो ।
मुक्तः क्रीडति चन्द्रचूडवपुरित्यूचे मृडानीपतिः ॥१६॥ *Act-III.*

IV. SIDDHA SCHOOL

The Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha mentions the Siddhas as ascetics and records that Malayasiṁha was a *Siddhārtha-yogi.*[1] The inscription peculiarly begins with an invocation to Mañjughosha—an originally Buddhist god of learning and extols the worship of Rāma.

"An *avadhūta* by name Śrīmitra flourished in the line of *sambuddha-siddha*" is mentioned in the *Bodha-gayā Ins. of the time of Jayachandra.*[2] Śrīmitra has been further described "as the initiating preceptor (*dīkshā-guru*) of the king of Kāśī i.e. Jayachandra."[3] It may be recalled here that a *MS.* of *Jayadratha-yāmala* was copied by Jomadeva who was a disciple of the Kulāchārya Śrī-Dharaṇīpāda, the preceptor of the king Jayachandra.[4]

A. *Siddha School in Literature :*

The *Siddha-siddhānta-saṁgraha*[5] mentions a Siddha school which is identical with the *avadhūta* and the Nātha sect. The *avadhutas* are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata.* The creed of eighty-four Siddhas had become quite influential from eleventh-twelfth century A.D.

2. PANTHEON

A. *Goraksha :*

He is one of the most important Siddhas. *The Cintrā Praśasti of Śārṅgadeva* mentions him as a member of the Pāśupata pentad. This would indicate the influence of the Siddhas over the Lākulīśa Pāśupata[6] sect.

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1 सिद्धार्थयोगी मल्यानुसिंह: । V. 12. *MASI, XXIII,* pp

2 सम्बुद्धसिद्धान्वयधुर्य्यभूत: श्रीमित्रनामा परमावधूत: ।।४।। *IHQ. V,* 14 ff, *Sambuddha-siddha*' may be compared with the following verse of the नमश्चौरंगिनाथाय सिद्धबुद्धाय धीमते ।।१।। *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati,* p. 48.

3 V. 11.

4 Bagchi : *Studies in the Tantras,* p. 114.
महाराजाधिराज **श्रीमज्जयचन्द्र-देवपूजितस्य कुलाचार्य्य श्री धरणीपादेव नामधेयस्य ।**

5 The Nātha-Yogi literature always mentions the school as Siddha-school. Thus the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* of Goraksha mentions the *Siddha-mata* at several places (e.g. p.l. v. 3.) The following verse (p. 39) differentiates the *Siddha-mata* from other Śaiva sects :-

शैवा: पाशुपता महाव्रतधरा: कालामुखा जंगमा: ।
शाक्ता: कौलकुला: कुलार्चनरता: कापालिका: शाम्भवा: ।।
एते कृत्रिममंत्रतंत्रनिरतास्ते तत्वतो वंचिता: ।
तस्मात्सिद्धमतं स्वभावसमयं धीर: सदा संश्रयेत् ।।

6 *EI,* I, p. 284, v. 46.

B. Rāma in the Siddha School:

The Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha, the Siddhārtha-yogi peculiarly states that "the Siddhas go to high heaven, having performed painful austerities, (but) those, who worship at the shrine of Rāma built by him, obtain the *Viśvapada* (without endeavour)." From literature we learn that the Siddhas were Śiva-Śakti worshippers and hence the building of shrine for Rāma by the Siddhārtha-yogi is rather striking.

C. Rāma in Tāntric and Siddha Literatures:

The *Tantrāloka*[1] mentions Rāma as Śiva, the highest reality. The commentator Jayaratha explains Rāma as the form of Śiva which pervades in the whole universe. *Triśirā-Bhairava* as quoted by Jayaratha enumerates fourteen kinds of Rāma.

Rāma is frequently mentioned in the later Siddha literature.

D. Mañjughosha:

The Buddhist deity is invoked in the beginning of *the Rewa Inscription*. There is some evidence that he was also accepted in the Siddha school as a deity.

V. KAULA SCHOOL

The Harsha Stone Ins. of the Chāhamāna[2] *Vigrahapāla* V.S. 1030 mentions a sect—*Sāṁsārika-kula* which was originated at the village Rāṇapallikā near the Harsha *Mt.* in Shekhāvati Dist. of Jeypur State in Rājapūtanā. The name of the sect indicates that it was associated with the *Kula* school.

The originator of this branch of the *Kula* school was the ascetic Allaṭa[3] or Bhāvarakta who was a disciple of the Pāśupata ascetic Viśvarūpa belonging

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[1] तीव्रं तपो दुःखकरं प्रकृत्या सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्ध्वमुन्त्वं: ।
यद् (यैः) रामदेवालयवाधिः (मर्च्चि) ता ये प्रायेण ते विश्वपदं प्रयाताः ॥२७॥
The line is rather corrupt.

[2] एष रामो व्यापकोऽत्र शिवः परम-कारणम् ॥४४॥
Commenting upon it, Jayaratha says :-
एष रामः सकलविश्वावभासनपरः क्रीडापरः परमात्मा परमेश्वरः ।
Tantrāloka, I, p. 136.

[3] हर्षस्यासन्नतोग्रामः प्रसिद्धो राणपल्लिका ।
सांसारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्गमः ॥३१॥ *EI*, II. 116 ff

to the Pañchārthika school of the Pāśupatas.[1] The inscription indicates very close relation between the Pāśupatas and the Kaulas. This is further confirmed by the fact that Goraksha, the disciple of the Kaula preceptor Matsyendra, was recognised in the Pāśupata fold. Further, the tradition of the *Siddhayogīśvarī* school is described to have been continued through Lakulīśa by his disciple Ananta and his disciple Gahaneśa or Gahanādhipa.[2] (Is he identical with Gahanīnātha mentioned as an ascetic in the Siddha school ?) It may be noted that Viśvarūpa belonged to the *Ananta gotra.*

VI. KĀLĀNANAS

The Kālānana sect has not been mentioned in inscriptions of Northern India. The sect was, however, very influential in south. It had several important centres under the Chālukyas. Kālāmukha ascetics also served as *rājagurus* of the Chālukya kings.[3]

VII. THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA SCHOOL

1. HISTORY.

A. *The Founder: Guhāvāsī :—The Gurgi Ins. of Prabodha-śiva* C. 973 A.D. records that the faultless *Saiva-siddhānta* doctrine was preached by the ascetic who was head of the line to which Prabodha-śiva belonged.[4] *The Ranod Ins. of Vyomaśiva* further describes that this line of ascetics came into existence as a blessing from Śiva to Brahmā who performed a

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1 पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोऽभवद्गुरु: ।।२८।।
दीक्षाजातमलध्वंस—विस्फुरज्ञाननिर्म्मल: ।
प्रशस्ताख्यो भवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपत: कृती ।।२९।।
भावरक्तोऽभवत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोऽल्लट: ।।३०।। *Ibid.*

2 यदागम:
भैरवाद्भैरवीं प्राप्तं सिद्धयोगीश्वरीमतम् ।
तत: स्वच्छन्ददेवेन स्वच्छन्दाल्लाकुलेन तु ।।
लकुलीशादनन्तेन अनन्ताद्गाहनाधिपम् । *Tantrāloka, XII*, p. 383.

3 *Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 167, see also Haṇḍiqui : *Yaśastilaka-champu and Indian Culture*, pp. 348 ff.
EI, XXIII, p. 161 ff.

4 पूर्व्वं यत्रावतीर्य विरतनियतमनोभवत्तापसेन्द्र: ।
शिष्यानामाशशंसु: शिवमतमतनुव्यस्तनि: शेषदोषम् ।।४।।
MASI, XXIII, pp. 122 ff.

sacrifice at *Dāruvana*.[1] Head of the line was *Guhāvāsī* as mentioned in several inscriptions. Thus, these inscriptions mention *Guhāvāsī* of *Dāruvana* as the preacher of Śaiva-siddhānta doctrine.

The association of *Guhāvāsī* with *Dāruvana* is mentioned in the *Purānas* and inscriptions. The *Skanda Purāna*[2] describes the holy place of *Dāruvana* where Śiva incarnated himself as *Guhāvāsī* and allured the wives of ascetics in the *Bhikshā-nața* form. The story occurs in the *Linga-purāna*[3] also. The *Halāyudha-stotra*[4] as inscribed in the Amaresvara temple before 1120 V.S. also refers to the incarnation of Siva at Dāruvana as a beggar (*bhikshā-nața*).

It may further be noted that one of the twenty-eight incarnations of Śiva mentioned in *Linga-Vāyu* and *Kurma-purānas* was *Guhāvāsī*.[5] In *Bhikshā-nața* form *Guhāvāsī* is represented in sculptures.

Guhāvāsī who promulgated the doctrine of Śaiva-siddhānta school seems to have been held as an incarnation of Siva like Lakulīśa the originator of the *Lakulīsa Pāsupata* dostrine.

(i) *The tradition of Durvāsū-Amarddaka as originator* :—The *Tantrāloka*[6] records the tradition that this dualist Śaiva school was started by

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[1] भक्त्योपसन्नं स्थिरभक्तिगम्य: पद्मासनं दारुवनेतिरम्ये ।
विधाय यज्ञं विधिना विधिज्ञः किलानुजग्राह पुरा पुरारिः ।।६।।
यच्छन्फलम्विपुलनिवृत्तिबीजमुच्चैः पूर्व्वोत्तरं विपुलवर्द्धितभूरिशाख: ।
तस्मादपूर्व्वं उदभून्मुनिवंश एव निर्ग्रन्थिरन्तरितसारतरोस्तरन्ध्रः ।।७।।
तस्मिन्मुनिः सकललोकनमस्यमूर्तिरिन्दूपमः प्रतिदिनं समुदीयमानः ।
श्रीमानभूद्भुवि कदम्ब (म्ब) गुहाधिवासी ।।८।। *EI*, I, pp. 354 ff.

[2] ततो गच्छेच्च राजेन्द्र गुहावासीति चोत्तमम् ।
यत्र सिद्धो महादेवो गुहावासीति शंकरः ।।
युधिष्ठिर उवाच
केन कार्येण विप्रेन्द्र गुहावासीति शंकरः ।

[3] पूर्वं दारुवने विप्राः वसन्ति च सुरैस्समाः

[4] दारूद्याने द्विजवरवधूपप्लवो रेतसाग्नौ
होमः सन्ध्यानटनमिति ते चेष्टितं नैव दुष्टम् ।।३४।। *EI, XXV*, p. 175.

[5] गोकर्णः गुहावासी शिखण्डी चापरः स्मृतः ।

[6] तानि कलिकालुष्यात् उपदेष्टृजनपरम्परान्तर्धानवशात् विच्छिन्नसंचाराणि व्यनश्यन् । इत्थं व्युच्छिन्ने शिवशासने कदाचित् कैलासगिरौ परिभ्रमन् श्रीकण्ठ मूर्तिः शिवो विच्छिन्नस्य निखिलशैवशास्त्रोपनिषत्सारभूतस्य षडर्घक्रमविज्ञानस्य प्रचारार्थं दुर्वाससं मुनिमाजिज्ञपत् । स मुनिः मानसान् सिद्धान् त्रयम्बक-आमर्दक-श्रीनाथाख्यान् अद्वय-द्वय द्वयाद्वयमतव्याख्यातृन् मठिकासु सत्सम्प्रदायमार्गं प्रचारयितुं न्युंक्त ।
Tantrāloka I, 28.

Amarddaka. The Śaiva schools of philosophy disappeared because of Kali age. Śiva, therefore, took pity on men engrossed in spiritual darkness and commanded Durvāsā to preach the doctrine. The sage, thereupon, created three mind-born sons—*Tryambaka, Āmarddaka* and *Srīnatha* who respectively promulgated the Non-dualist (*Trik*), Dualist (*Śaiva*) and Dualist-non-dualist schools (*maṭha*) of philosophy.

This tradition recurs in many *tāntric* works where Durvāsā is represented as the founder of the *Āmarddaka-maṭha.*[1]

(ii) *Durvāsā Line and Āmarddaka-maṭha :—The Malkapuram*[2] *Ins. of Rudradeva* describes Viśveśvara-śambhu as belonging to the line of Durvāsā through Sadbhāva-śambhu of Dāhala region. Sadbhāva-śambhu, however, belonged to the line of Guhāvāsī. It is strange that no person by name Durvāsā recorded to have flourished in this line from Guhāvāsī to Viśveśvara-śambhu and yet the line was named after Durvāsā.

Tāntric works as mentioned above allude to the tradition that the *Āmarddaka-maṭha* was founded by Durvāsā.

Tantrāloka also describes the founding of the non-dualist school (*maṭha*) by Āmarddaka at the instance of Durvāsā. In the Guhāvāsī line three main branches sprung forth—(*a*) *Āmarddaka-maṭha,* (*b*) *Mattamayūra* and (*c*) *Mādhumateya* respectively founded by *Āmarddaka-tīrthanātha,* Rudra-śambhu, *Mattamayura-nātha* Purandara and Pavanaśiva. This *Āmarddaka* branch (maṭha) is mentioned in the Rāshtrakuta[3] and Prathiāra[4] inscriptions. Visveśvara-śambhū[5] also belonged to this branch founded by Rudra-śambhu at the instance of Durvāsā (as noted by *Tantrāloka*) and this is the only explanation for describing him as belonging to the line of Durvāsā.

Thus, the joint evidence of inscriptions and literature would prove that Guhāvāsī orginated the dualist Saiva school of philosophy which was systematised and spread by Āmarddakatirtha-nātha or Rudra-śambhu.

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[1] *Hultzsch, Report on Skt. MSS., II,* Intr. p. *XVI* ff. *Cat. Catalo.* I. p. 257 ; *II.* p. 55 etc.

[2] अस्ति विश्वम्भरासारः कमलाकुलमन्दिरम् ।
भागीरथी नर्म्मदयोर्म्मध्यं डहलमण्डलम् ।।
नीत्वा कालमनन्तमन्तकजयी सद्भावशम्भु:गुरु
र्दुर्व्वासोन्वय सम्भवस्सुचरितः *JAHRS, IV,* pp. 147 ff.

[3] *EI, III,* 263-267., *EI, IV,* 286.

[4] श्रीमदामर्द्दकसन्तानीय श्रीशिवदेवाचार्यसुतश्रीमहेश्वराचार्य्याय
Haddal Grant of the time of Mahipāla Pratihāra, IA, XII, p. 193ff.

[5] *JAHRS, IV,* 147 ff.

(iii) *Dates of Rudra-Śambhu and Guhāvāsī :—The Chandrehe Ins. of Prabodha-śiva* is dated in K.S. 724=973 A.D. Prabodha-śiva is twelfth from Guhāvāsī and hence taking twenty-five years for one generation Guhāvāsī may be placed in c. 675 A.D. and Rudra-śambhu in c. 775 A.D.

B. *Diffusion and spread of the Sect :*—The sect spread from the Punjab in the north to Tamil region in the south and influenced several kings of this period.

(*a*) *Āmarddaka-maṭha and Durvāsā Line :*—Rudra-śambhu or Āmarddakatīrthanātha founded the *matha* whose disciples (*santāna*) spread in the Rājputana, Karahat and Karṇātaka. *The Rajore Ins.*[1] *of Mathanadeva of the time Vināyakapāla* Pratihāra V.S. 1016=959 A.D. mentions *Omkāra-śiva, Rūpaśiva* and *Srīkaṇṭha* as the *āchāryas* of the *Āmarddaka-maṭha* belonging to the *Sopariya* line. Another line termed *Karanjakheṭa-santati* is found in the Karahāṭa area. *The Karhad CP. of Krishna III S. 880* records a grant to Ganganaśiva, a great ascetic versed in the whole *Śiva-siddhānta* (philosophy), the pupil of Iśanasiva head, of Vālkaleśvara *maṭha.*[2] This ascetic Gaganaśiva was the spiritual teacher of the Alūpa king Dattalpendra Srimāra as known from the *Mudukāri* (*Someśvara Temple*) *Inscription.*[3] Here he has been described as belonging to the line of Durvāsā.

C. *Golakī maṭha :*—Sadbhāva Śambhu same as Prabhāva-śiva in the line of the *Āmarddaka-tirtha-nātha* established the tradition of the Golakī Maṭha. The tradition flourished in the Telgu and Tamil area.

(*a*) *Telgu Region :—The Pushpagiri*[4] (*Kurnool District*) *Ins.* mentions Golakī Maṭha. The four Tripurāntaka[5] (Kurnool Dist.) Inscriptions mention Sānta-śiva, Dharma-śiva, Vimala-śiva and Viśveśvara-śiva of

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[1] श्रीमदामर्द्दक विनिर्गत श्रीसोपुरीयसंतत्यां श्रीछत्रशिव......
श्रीश्रीकण्ठाचार्यशिष्य श्रीरूपशिवाचार्यस्तच्छिष्य श्रीमदोंकारशिवाचार्यस्यास्खलित ब्रह्मचर्य्यावाप्त महिम्नः इत्यादि १३–१५

EI, III, 263-267.

[2] करहाटीयबल्कलेश्वरस्थानपति करंजखेटसन्तति विनिर्गतेशानशिवाचार्यशिष्याय महातपस्विने सकलशिवसिद्धान्तपारगाय गगनशिवाय इत्यादि ६०–६१

EI, IV, 286.

[3] The inscription is in Kannaḍa. The relevant portion runs as follows :-
श्रीमतु दुर्वासस्मुनीन्द्रवशतिलक य सन्तति संजातरप्प श्रीमद्गगनशिवाचार्यरिगे दत्तालपेन्द्र श्रीमार ओड्डुम इत्यादि

SII, VII, No. 134, p. 165.

[4] 323 of 1905.

[5] 195, 223, 273, and 323 of 1905.

the Golakī Maṭha. *The Alugurajupalle*[1] (*Palnad Talukā, Guntur Dist.*) *Stone Ins. of the Kākātīya king Ganapati Deva* also refers to a Golakī monastery.

(*b*) *Tamil Region* :—Inscriptions of Jaṭāvarmman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Vīra Pandya Deva contain references to Puragali Perumala belonging to the line of Jnānāmṛtāchārya of Hīlāhi[2] (Golakī maṭha) and Aghoradeva of Jnānāmṛtāchārya-santāna of Golakī Maṭha.[3] A late inscription describes the head of a maṭha as Pāṇḍi-mauḍalādhipati alias Lakshādhyāyi-santāna of the Golakī Maṭha.[4] The Krishṇa Golakī Maṭha is mentioned in the *Tinivarur* (*Tanjore dist.*) *Inscription.*[5]

The Malkapuram Ins. of the Kākātiya Rudradeva S. 1183. however, is of outstanding importance. *Viśvesvara-śambhu* the founder of the *Viśveśvara-golakī maṭha* was the spiritual father of the King Gaṇapati (1213-1249 A.D.) of Warangale. The inscription describes in detail the philanthropic activities of the *Golakī Maṭha.*[6]

D. *Mattamayūra Lineage* :—The fifth ascetic in the line was Purandara who initiated the prince Avantivarmman in the faith. The king dedicated his kingdom to his spiritual preceptor as an honorarium where the ascetic founded a monastery at *Mattamayūra*[7] town.

(*a*) *The Monastery of Mattamayūra* :—Prof. Mirashi has identified[8] *mattamayūra* town with Kadawahā as it "possesses remains of a Hindu monastery" and because "it is not far from Terahi, Ranod and Mahua". The identification, however, is not plausible.

Inscriptions clearly indicate that Mattamayūra town or the kingdom of Avantivarmman was far away from the place where Purandara was

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1 289 of 1930-31.

2 359 of 1916.

3 362 of 1916.

4 213 of 1924.

5 *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1910 p. 97. Iśanaśiva, *Pānditanattu Panditamaudalādhipati* alias *Lakshādhyayisantāna* finds mention in Tīnurnalainādu of S. S. 1452 1530—1 A.D. (193 of 1924) *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for* 1924; p. 114.

6 *JAHRS*, IV. p. 147 ff.

7 *EI*, I, p. 259, V. 49 ; see also p. 355 vv. 11-13.

8 *IHQ*, 1950, p. 9.

performing his austerities and, therefore, the place should not be located in Mālavā.[1]

Inscriptions further indicate that the town of Mattamayūra was in the kingdom of Ȧvantivarmman who must have flourished in the beginning of ninth century A.D. History is unaware of any prince of this name in ninth century A.D. Kielhorn identifies him with Avanivarmman of the Chālukya dynasty without any cogent reason. Mirashi on the basis of the *Maser Inscription* regards him to be a predecessor of Avanivarmman. This view, however, involves many difficulties.[2]

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[1] The verse in the inscription is :-

वन्द्य:कोपि चकास्त्यचिन्त्यमहिमा तुल्यं मुनिर्भास्वता
राजन्नुत्तम शव्द (ब्द) पूर्व्वशिखराभ्यर्णम्प्रकीर्णद्युतिः ।
दीक्षार्थीति वचो निशम्य सुकृतीचारोक्तमुर्वीपति
र्यस्येहानयनाय यत्नमकरोच्छ्रीमानवन्तिः पुरा ॥

I shall like to translate it as follows :-

"Oh King there is an ascetic of unimaginable splendour, shining like Sun whose fame has spread to far off *Uttama śikhara*"—hearing the words the king illustrious Avanti (Varmman) tried to bring the ascetic. This would suggest that the king Avanti got the information of this famous ascetic from a spy and then tried to bring him in his territory.

[2] The generalogy of the Chālukya kings has been constructed by Mirashi as follows :-

Avantivarmman	A.D. 825
Avanivarmman	A.D. 850
Sadhanva	A.D. 875
Simhavarmman	A.D. 900
Narasimha	A.D. 950
Keśarin	A.D. 975

The history of the dynasty is given in *the Bihhari Ins.* (*EI*, I, p. 2)58 is as follows :-

अभवदनवनिवर्म्मा विश्वविख्यातकर्मा ॥३४॥

पितामह्रो यत्खलु सिह्वर्म्मा पिता यद्वीरवरस्सधन्वः ॥३५॥

Thus, Avanivarmman was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarmman while in Mirashi's table he is shown as grandfather of Simhavarmman and father of Sadhanva. Thus, Sadhanva was the father and not Avantivarmman as shown by the learned scholar. Secondly, there is no evidence whatsoever to maintain that Avantivarmman belonged to the dynasty of the Chālukyas or Sulkis.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] locates the *Mattamayūras* in the Punjab near Rohtak. It is interesting to note that in seventh-eighth century A.D. a varmman dynasty was ruling in this area. *The Lakkha Mandala Praśasti of the Queen Isvarā*[2] of Jālandhara who belonged to the Varmman dynasty of Simhapura was inscribed by Iśvaranāga of Rohtak. Buhler identifies Simhapura with *Seng-ho-pulo* of Huen Tsiang located near Salt Range in the Punjab.[3] I would, therefore, like to identify the town *Mattamayūra* in the Punjab in the kingdom of these Varmmans. Avantivarmman might have belonged to this Varmman line.

The Mattamayūra and Raṇipadra monasteries sent forth their branches to Mālavā, Karkaroni in Deccan and several places in the modern Madhya Pradesh.

(i) *The Mālavā Branch :—The Prāyaśchitta-samuchchaya*[4] mentions an ascetic Lambakarṇa of Ranipatra monastery who was the spiritual teacher of the king Sīyaka of Mālavā. He has been described as one who heard the whole of the Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy and was like a Śiva on Kailāśa. The *Purānas*[5] mention Lambakarṇa as a *bhairava* at Avanti. The ascetic Lambakarṇa described as Śiva might have been regarded as Bhairava. The line of Lambakarṇa, continued through Iśvara-śiva whose disciple Hṛidaya-śiva composed the *Prāyaschitta samuchchaya.*

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[1] Sabhāparva. XXXII

[2] *EI*, I, p. 8.

[3] Siyuki, I, pp. 43-44.

[4] *ISC, II, Preface*, p. 1.
मत्तमयूरवंशजे श्रीरणिपत्रलम्बकर्ण इति नाम प्रथितः पृथिव्यां मुनिः ।
निखिलशैवसिद्धान्तश्रोत्रसंस्कारपावनः ।
चन्द्रांकितजटाजूटः कैलासस्येव शंकरः ॥
श्रीरणिपत्रकाश्रमाद् गोरठिकामठे गमात् ॥१॥
धारायां सी (स्वी) यकमिति अनुजग्राह पार्थिवः ॥
आसीत् ततो सन्ततौ मुनिः श्री ईश्वर इति ।
जगतीपतिभिर्नृपैः पूजितपादपंकजः ॥
Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Select Palm-Leaf in Durbar Library, p. 215.

[5] अवन्तौ च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ॥८८॥
The Sākta Pithas, JRASB, 1948, p. 55.

(ii) *The Deccan Branch* :—The donee in the *Kharepatan*[1] *CP. of Rattarāja S.* 930 is Ambhoja-śambhu. He flourished in a series of pontiffs of the Karkareṇi branch of the Mattamayūra line. The *Naimittika-kriyānu-sandhana*[2] was composed by Brahma-śambhu of this Karkaroṇi branch in S. 960.

(iii) *The Kadwaha Branch* :—The Kadwaha Ins. of the Chanderi-Pratihāra dynasty informs us of Dharma-śiva belonging to Raṇipadra monastery who was the spiritual teacher of Harirāja Pratihāra (c. 10th century A.D.). Another inscription from the same place associates Iśvara-śiva with a king Bhīma Bhūpa.

Thus, the ascetics of this branch spread from the Punjab (Salt Range) to Deccan. They wielded considerable influence in Central India. Kings of Varmman dynasty of the Punjab, of Chanderi Pratihāra and Paramāra dynasties in Central India were their spiritual disciples.

E. *Mādhumateya Line* :—The Mādhumateya monastery was founded by Pavana-śiva which sent its branches to Gurgi, Chandrehe, Bilhari and elsewhere. Prabhāva-śiva to be identified with Sadbhāva-śiva was held in veneration by the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva I and Lakshmaṇarāja. The inscription describes the footstool of the ascetic "as being worshipped by the accumulation of the lustre of jewels in the crest of several kings." He was approached by the King of Kuntala.

Another line of Prabhāva-śiva ran through Somaśambhu whose disciple Vāmaśambhu initiated a line of the *rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings which continued to the end of the Kalachuri dynasty in Dāhala.

The Rājagurus of Kalachuri Kings :—*The Malkāpuram Ins. of the Kākātiya king Rudradeva* states that Yuvarājadeva gave three lakhs of

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[1] श्रीमत्तमयूरान्वयान्तर्गतकर्करोणिसन्तान-गुरुक्रमायात-सिद्धान्ततत्त्वादिहृतमोहान्धतम-सामातपोमहिमप्रध्वस्ताशेपसंगानां प्रवो (बो) धप्रदीपप्रकाशितस्वर्गापवर्गमार्गाणां समाधिजलव्ध (ब्ध) त्रिभुवनकीर्तीनां श्रीमदम्भोजशम्भुगुरूणां इत्यादि २–५५

[2] *ISG, II, Preface*, p. 1.

[3] *Gwalior Arch. Rep. V. S.* 1998, No. 6.
Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha, No. 627, p. 85.
See also *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 2107 for another inscription of the same dynasty.

[4] *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, p. 85, No. 628.

[5] ते निवसति वनवासे कुन्तलो······मुनिः
v. 41, *MASI, XXIII*, p. 125.

villages in *Dāhala maṇḍala* to Sadbhāva-śambhu who with this princely donation founded a monastery known as Golakī Maṭha.[1] The evidence from Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions indicates that Sadbhāva-śambhu was identical with Prabhāva-śiva the disciple of Madhumateya Chūḍāśiva.[2] He was succeeded by Somaśambhu and after him came Vāmaśambhu "whose feet were embellished by the row of crowns of kings and are even now meditated upon by the Kalachuri kings".[3] The statement finds striking epigraphic corroboration as no less than seven kings—Lakshmīkarṇṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasimha, Jayasimha, Vijayasimha, Śankaragaṇa and Trailokyavarmmadeva Chandella king who supplanted the Kalachuri dynasty are styled as "meditating upon the feet of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara illustrious Vāmadeva".[4] The reason for mentioning the ascetic in this way is known from the commentary by Jonarāja on the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya.[5] He states that the Kalachuri king

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[1] नीत्वा कालमनन्तकजयी सद्भावशम्भोर्गुरुर्दुर्वासोन्वय संभवस्सुचरितः प्राबृद्धपुण्यैः नृपाणाम् ।
शैवानां प्रथमाय शंकरपदध्यानामृताम्भोनिधिक्रीडाम्ब्रेडनकर्म्मं निर्म्मलतरस्वान्ताय शान्तात्मने ।
तस्मै निस्पृहचेतसे कलचुरिक्ष्मापालचूडामणिर्ग्रामाणां युवराजदेव नृपतिर्भिक्षा न्त्रिलक्षीं ददौ ॥

JAHRS, IV, p. 157.

[2] *The Chandrehe Ins. of Prabodhasiva* mentions that Prabhāva-śiva made to accept the earth sanctified by the touch of his feet by Yuvarājadeva" Again *the Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhasiva* (*EI, XXII*, p. 133) records the same fact that Yavarājadeva made Prabhāvasiva to accept a monastery constructed at an enormous cost". Thus, there cannot be any reasonable doubt in the identi ofty Sadhāva-Sambhu and Prabhāva-siva.

[3] अथ नृपशेखरमालालालितपादोत्रवामशम्भुरभूत् ।
अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

[4] (a) *Banaras CP. of Lakshmīkarṇṇa* K.S. *EI, II*, pp. 305 ff.
(b) *Khairha CP. of Yasaḥkarṇa, EI, XII*, pp. 210 ff.
(c) *Lal Pahad Ins. of Narasimhadeva, IA, XVIII*, pp. 215 ff.
(d) *Rewa CP. of the time of Jayasimha, IA, XVII*, pp. 246 ff.
(e) *Kumbhi CP. of Vijayasimhadeva, EI, XXXI*, p. 116.
(f) *Sagar Ins. of Śankaragana, EI, XXVI.*
(g) *Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva*, EI, XXV, I. ff.

[5] साहसिकस्तपस्विने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्वा सर्वां भूमिं जेतुं प्रस्थितवान् ॥

***Prithvirāja Vijaya*, p. 174.**

Sāhasika after dedicating his empire to his spiritual preceptor Vāmadeva, proceeded to conquer the whole earth. The king Sāhasika is most probably the king Yuvarājadeva II as shown elsewhere. Since his reign, there is a continued line of the *rājagurus* in succession running from Vāmaśambhu. Vimalaśiva and his disciple[1] Vāstuśiva were probably the spiritual teachers of Kokalla II and his son Gāngeyadeva. The name of the preceptor of Lakshmīkarṇṇa is lost. Purushaśiva was "the prosperity of Yaśaḥkarṇa" and Śaktiśiva was "the real power of the king Gayakarṇa". His disciple Kīrttiśiva was probably the preceptor of Narasimha while Vimalaśiva described in the *Jubblepur Kotwali Ins. of Jayasimha* as "the illustrious *rājapuru*" was "showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs". His disciple Dharmaśiva perhaps migrated to south where his disciple Viśveśvara-śambhu, worshipped by the kings of Mālavā and Chola countries initiated the Kākātiya king Gaṇapati in Śaivism.

Śāntaśiva and Nādaśiva were also the disciples of Vimalaśiva as mentioned in *the Rewa CP. of Trailokyavarmmadeva.*[2] Nādaśiva executed a deed of mortgage on behalf of Śāntaśiva in which the village Allorā was pledged to Rānaka Dhārekha in Śaivism.

This would indicate that after the fall of the Kalachuri dynasty, these ascetics had fallen on evil days and, therefore, they migrated to different places.

Thus, the line of rājagurus started from Vāmaśambhu in the time of Yuvarājadeva II (c. 975 A.D.) continued for more than two hundred and fifty years and ultimately came to an end in c. 1225 A.D. when the dynasty was supplanted by the Chandellā ruler Trailokyavarmmadeva.

F. *The Rajagurus of the Chola Kings* :— It is supposed that there was a succession of the *rājagurus* throughout the Chola rule[3] also. Īśānaśiva and Śarvaśiva are mentioned in inscriptions of Rājarāja I (985-1014) and Rajendra Chola (1012-1044). There is epigraphic evidence to show their considerable influence in the Chola court during Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) and Kulottunga III (1182-1216 A.D.).

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[1] See Appendix A.

[2] It is noteworthy that Śāntaśambhu is mentioned as the incarnation of Durvāsā, *EI*, *XXV*, p. 1 ff.

[3] *Cholas*, II, p. 484.

The line of Īśāna-śiva-guru is mentioned in the *Karma-kriyā-kānda*[1] and the *Paddhati* composed by Somaśambhu. Iśāna (śiva) was succeeded by Vimala-śiva whose disciple Śarva-śiva is mentioned in inscriptions. It is stated that Rajendra I was supplying a large quantity of grains as *āchāryabhoga* to Śarva-śiva and his disciples in the Āryadeśa, Madhyadeśa and Gauḍadeśa. His disciple Somaśambhu composed several Śaiva works.

Siddhānta-sārāvali of Trilochanaśivāchārya records a tradition that Rajendra Chola saw the best of the śaivas in Northern India when he came to take a bath in the Gangā and carried them to settle in his own country in Kānchi and elsewhere in the Chola land[2]. Viśveśvara-śiva of the *Malkapuram Ins. of the king Rudradeva* was an inhabitant of Gauḍadeśa and belonged to the Golakī Maṭha of Ḍāhala region who established a monastery at Mysore[3]. South Indian inscriptions mention some ascetics of the line of *Bhikshā-maṭha* and *Kollamaṭha*[4] at Vāraṇasī. This would indicate that the ascetics of Śaiva-siddhānta school migrated from north to south during this period.

G. *Ascetics in Vārāṇasī :—The Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhaśiva* records that the ascetic Prabodhaśiva built an abode at Vārāṇasī[5]. Disciple of

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1 श्रीशाननामा शिवतुल्यधामा तस्याथ शिष्यो विमलेशनामा ।
तस्यापि शिष्योस्ति शिव (शर्वं) श्शिवात्मा शिष्यो भवद्यस्य च सोमशम्भुः ॥४॥
In the manuscript of *Karmmakriyākāṇḍa* (Cat. of Palm Leaf & Sel. Paper Man. in Nepal: H. P. Sastri, p. 45) *Śrīśāna* is mentioned as *Śrigona.* This *Somaśambhu* is different from Somaśambhu of the *Malkapuram Ins.* of Rudradeva. *Śaivabhūshaṇa Grantha* mentions one Somaśambhu who wrote a *paddhati.*
उग्रोत्तरज्योतिरथो स सद्यश्श्रीरामकण्ठोपि च वैद्यकण्ठः ।
नारायणश्चापि विभूतिकण्ठः श्रीनीलकण्ठावपि सोमशम्भुः ॥

2 राजेन्द्रचोळ इत्याख्यः चोळभूपो महीं वसन् ।
गंगास्नानार्थमागत्य दृष्ट्वा शैवान्वरान्तदा ॥
स्नात्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तस्सन् तान् समादाय शैवकान् ।
स्वराज्ये स्थापयामास शैवाचार्यवरांस्तदा ।
कांचीमध्ये चौळभूमौ सर्वत्रैव प्रविस्तराः ॥

ASI. AR, 1911-12, p. 176.

3 *JAHRS, IV*, p.

4 *Cholas*, pt. *II*, p. 485.

5 *MASI, XXIII*, 122 ff, V. 14.

Kumāraśiva the *guru* of Mūlarāja Solanki belonging to this faith had composed a Pratishṭhā work in 1090 A.D.[1] at Banaras. (The manuscript of the work is reported to be in *ASB*). A Chola inscription mentions Jñānaśiva of the *Lakshādyāya-santāna* of the *Kollā-maṭha* at Vārāṇasī[2].

2. LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF THESE ASCETICS

Inscriptions describe the literary activities of these ascetics. Vyomaśiva of the Ranod monastery seems to be a reputed scholar of outstanding importance. Inscription from Ranod mentions the composition of a work known after him[3].

The Gwalior Ins.[4] further gives us information that he, by his commentary, expounded the true nature of the real *padārtha* (a category of the Vaiśeshika system) and also the unreal gross ignorance even as the Sun by his light reveals existing objects and dispels pitchy darkness. This commentary on the Vaiśeshika work is no other than the *Vyomavatī-ṭīkā* of Vyomaśiva on the *Praśastapāda-bhāshya.* The celebrated author Udayana mentions him with respect in his *Kīraṇāvalī.* He has also been quoted by Guṇaratna, Rājaśekhara and Varddhamāna[5].

Iśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati[6] a voluminous work has been ascribed to Iśānaśiva, the *rājaguru* of Rājendra Chola. The *Prāyaschitta-samuchchaya,* the *Naimittika-kriyānusandhāna* and the *Pratishṭhā-darpaṇa* were composed by Hṛidayaśiva of the Goraṭhikā Maṭha at Dhārā[7], Brahmaśambhu of the Karkaroṇi branch[8] and Vairochana, the disciple[9] of Iśana-

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[1] *ISG, Pt. II, Intr.*

[2] *Cholas*, pt. *II*, 485.

[3] श्लाघ्र्यं जन्म जगत्त्रयेपि दधतः शेषस्य तस्य क्षमा
मस्य व्योमपदादिमन्त्ररचनाख्याताभिधानस्य च

V. 23. *EI*, I, P. 254 ff.

[4] मुनिसूर्येण निरस्तं टीकालोकेन येन लोकस्य ।
प्रकटयतेह पदार्थं सन्तमसच्च सन्तमसम् ॥
The verse has been quoted by Prof. Mirāshi (*IHQ*, 1950, p. 16). See also "*Vyomaśiva the Author of Vyomavatī*" *by Dasarath Sharma* (*IHQ*, *X*, p. 165).

[5] *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 32 aun.

[6] *A Study on Vāstuvidyā, preface*, p. ii.

[7] *ISG.* II, preface p. 1

[8] *Ibid*, Part II, preface.

[9] *Ibid.*

śiva respectively. *The Malkapuram*[1] *Ins. of Rudradeva* mentions the writing of the *Somaśambhu-paddhati* by Somaśambhu, the predecessor of Vāmaśambhu which is not available. The available *Somaśambhu-paddhati*[2] was composed in 1153 V.S.=1095 A.D. by another Somaśambhu who flourished in the line of Īśānaśiva.

3. PHILOSOPHY

We have already seen that the Vaiśeshikas were Śaivas while the Naiyāyikas belonged to the Pāśupata school. Literature discloses the existence of the *Siddhānta-Vaiseshika* branch of the Vaiśeshika school.

A. *Siddhānta-Vaiseshikas :—Apta-parīkshā* (9th Century A.D.) and *Yaśastilaka*[3] (c. 966 A.D.) mention two sections of *Vaiśeshikas :—*

(*a*) The *Siddhānta-Vaiseshikas and*

(*b*) The *tārkika-Vaiseshikas.*

The difference between these two sections of Vaiśeshika philosophers are mainly four :—

(i) *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* were theist. They believe in the existence of Maheśvara-Siva and also in the categories recognised in the Vaiśeshika system while *Tārkika-Vaiseshikas* were atheist[4].

(ii) According to *Saiddhāntikas* salvation can be obtained by faith in Śiva characterised by initiation into Śaiva cult. while

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[1] नाम्ना निजेन सकलागमसिन्धुसेतुं यः पद्धतिं करुणया प्रतिमां बबन्ध ।

LL. 65-66.

JAHRS, IV, p. 157.

[2] श्रीविक्रमाख्यनृपकालसमुद्भवेषु
पंचाशता त्रिसहितेषु शरच्छतेषु ।
एकादशस्वमलशास्त्रमिदं समाप्तं
गूढस्य देशिकमतस्य सहस्रयुग्मम् ।।७।।

Somaśambhu-paddhati, p. 1.

[3] Vol. II, p. 269. *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 184.

[4] यथैव हि महेश्वरस्य स्वरूपतः सत्वं वृद्धवैशेषिकैरिष्यते तथा पृथिव्यादिद्रव्याणां रूपादिगुणानामुत्क्षेपणादिकर्म्मणां सामान्यविशेषसमवायानां च प्रागभावादीनामपीष्यत एव

Āpta-parīkshā v.v. 59-67.

Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 218.

tārkikas maintain that it results from the knowledge of categories.[1]

(iii) *Tārkikas* hold that the salvation consists in the complete cessation of ignorance-pain due to the extirpation of attributes of soul while *Siddhāntikas* maintain that it brings blissful consciousness besides the annihilation of ignorance-pain.[2]

(iv) Vyomaśiva regards verbal testimony (*śabda*) also as a valid source of knowledge in addition to inference and perception but the orthodox section does not recognise *śabda* as independent source of knowledge[3].

On the basis of inscriptions it may be demonstrated that these *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* were the followers of *Śaiva-siddhānta* school and that these differences from the orthodox section arose from the acceptance of devotional doctrine as laid down in the *āgamas* by the *Śaiva-siddhānta* school.

B. *Inscriptions and Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* :—These characteristic principles of *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* are obtained in inscriptions set up by *Śaiva-siddhānta* scholars.

(i) These inscriptions invariably begin with an invocation to Śiva and other deities of Śaiva pantheon. They reveal a full-fledged Śaiva mythology and pantheon.

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[1] सकलनिष्कलाप्तप्राप्तमन्त्रतन्त्रापेक्षदीक्षालक्षणाच्छ्रद्धामात्रानुसरणान्मोक्षः इति सैद्धान्तवैशेषिकाः । *Yaśastilaka*, Vol. II, p. 269.

[2] दग्धेन्धनानलवदुपशमो मोक्षः । *Praśastapāda*, p. 144. But in *the Āptaparīkshā* (under verse 11 ; see also *Yaşastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 218) ज्ञानशक्तिस्तु निःकर्मणोपि कस्यचिन्न विरुध्यते चेतनात्मवादिभिः कैश्चिद्वैशेषिकसिद्धान्तमभ्युपगच्छद्भिर्मुक्तात्मन्यपि चेतनायाः प्रतिज्ञानात् ।
That this was also the view of Śaivas is known from Bhāskara who in his *Bhāshya*, 2-2-37 notes. पाशुपत-वैशेषिक-नैयायिक-कापालिकानामविशिष्टाः मुक्त्यवस्थायां पाषाणकल्पा आत्मानो भवन्तीति । सांख्यशैवयोश्च विशिष्टा आत्मानश्चैतन्यस्वभावास्तिष्ठन्तीति ।

[3] Maṇibhadra in his commentry on *Shaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya* mentions this view of Vyomaśiva :—
यद्यपि औलूक्यशासने व्योमशिवाचार्योक्तानि त्रीणि प्रमाणानि तथा श्रीधरमतापेक्षया अत्र उभे एव निगदिते ।
(p. 63) Keith : *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 56 n.

(ii) The *Bilhari inscription*[1] states that even "sacred knowledge and due discrimination "are dependent on the devotion to Śiva". Austerities destroy the darkness of ignorance and set a person on the path of *nirvāṇa*[2] which would be obtained by *bhakti-yoga.*[3]

(iii) Salvation is the greatest of pleasures and comes as a "downpour of nectar" in the form of bliss which could only be experienced.[3]

(iv) The *āgamas* are regarded as the most authoritative work. Worship is done in accordance with the *āgamas.* This high position assigned to these revealed scriptures necessitated the recognition of *śabda* as an independent source of valid knowledge.[4]

Thus, the Śaiva Siddhānta school was affiliated to the *Saiddhāntika* section of Vaiśeshika philosophy. On the basis of literary evidence it seems that this school came into existence sometime before ninth century A.D. Vyomaśiva who differed from the earlier *āchāryas* in some of the principles noted above, flourished in the beginning of tenth century A.D. By the time of Somadeva Sūri (c. 966 A.D.) differences in two schools of the Vaiśeshikas were clearly crystallized and in the fourteenth century A.D. Jain writers made an unqualified statement that the Vaiśeshika school was devoted to Śiva worship. This would indicate the influence gradually exerted by the Śaiva school on the Vaiśeshika philosophy.

Inscriptions of these ascetics do not mention the fundamental philosophical concepts of the Siddhānta school. The *First Baijnath Praśasti,* however, contains metaphysical terms used in it. The inscription addresses Śiva as Paśupati[5] who cuts the bonds (*pāśa*) of persons devoted to him.

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1 भवति नृपतिवंशे जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुतमुचितविचारश्चारुरूपप्रभावः ।
समरविजयसम्पत्तस्य यो निःप्रपंचं चरणयुगलमूलं संश्रितः शंकरस्य ॥
EI, I, p. 261, V. 75.

2 शिष्यस्तस्य शिखाशिवः शिखिसमो विभ्रत्तपस्तेजसा ।
दीपत्वं विनिपातितान्धतमसो निर्व्वाणमार्गे स्थितिः ॥
Chandrehe Ins. of Prabodhaśiva, K.E. 724=973 A.D., *MASI*, XIII, p. 117 ff.

3 किमिह बहुभिरुक्तैर्नाथ सर्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममैकः ।
सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्र पीयूषवर्षः स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥
E.I, I, p. 261.

4 See note '5' above.

5 यद्यप्यहं पशुपते कुमतिद्र एव ॥१॥
पाशाच्छेदन कर्तरि प्रणमतां मोहान्धकूपप्लुडल् ॥२॥ *E. I.*, I p. 104 ff.

Paśu as *aṇu*[1] staying in the body is also mentioned. *Mala*[2] is said to have been destroyed by the sight of Śiva.

4. YOGA

Yogic practices hold an important place in the āgamic works. Inscriptions also betray influence in the Śaiva-siddhānta school.

The *Gurgi Ins.* records that Praśānta-śiva had attained mastery over postures of sitting (*jitāsana*). His mind was devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva inside his lotus-like heart (and therefore) he possessed inner satisfaction.[3]

Prabodhaśiva lived on green leaves (*śāka*), roots of water-plants (*sāluka*) and fruits such as *āmalaka, priyāla* as well as roots.[4] The *Gurgi Ins.* informs us of his building an abode for the siddhas on the banks of the river Śoṇa "having entered which *yogis* who had exterminated anxieties caused by the impediments through the performance of vows, who were free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the positon (fit) for obtaining emancipation.[5]

5. KRIYĀ

Excavation of water-reservoirs, construction of temples, installation of images, founding of monasteries and other architectural activities constitute the third section of the *āgamas* known as *'kriyā'*.

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1 बहुदेहान्तरस्थाणु त्वमेव किल कथ्यसे ॥८॥ *Ibid.*

2 मलादिहृदयाल्हादिदर्शनतो दिने दिने ॥८॥ *Ibid.*

3 आसीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थित-
स्थाणु-ध्यान-निलीन-निश्चलमनः संवेदितान्तर्म्मुदः ॥१५॥
MASI, XXIII, p. 128 ff.

4 विचार्य निखिलागमान्विधिसमाधिबुद्धंश्वरः
प्रियालफलमूलकामलशाकशालूकभुक् । *MASI, XXIII*, p. 117 ff.

5 सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत्.........यः शोणतीरोपरि ।
यस्मिन् योगजुषः प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाधयः
शान्तः सिद्धसमाधयो धु(ध्व)च्छ मतयो गच्छन्ति मुक्तेः पदम् ॥
MASI, XXIII, p. 117 ff.

In *MASI* Dr. Banerjee has corrected the last line as *adhvamatayo gachchhantimuktehpadaṁ* but in *EI, XXII*, p. 127 he reads it as *achchhamataya* but *adhvamatayo* suits the context better *adhvan* is a technical term of Śaiva-yoga.

Kriyā was a popular feature of the Śaiva Siddhānta school. Inscriptions record the excavation of wells, *vāpīs*[1] and other water-reservoirs, founding of several *maṭhas*[2] and abodes of *siddhas*,[3] the installation of Śaiva images[4] and similar activities by the Śaiva ascetics of Ḍāhala region. *The Malkāpuram*[5] Ins. describes the establishment of colleges, feeding-houses and hospitals by Viśveśvara-śiva of Golakī Maṭha.

6. CHARYĀ

Charyā consists of daily rituals, worship of images and *yantras*, celebration of festivals and similar activities.

A. *Daily Rituals* :—Fire-rituals with Śaiva *mantras* were daily performed. Prabodhaśiva is compared with Kumāra because he was as much versed "in pouring libations on high tongues of fire as Kumāra is in tending his bird-conveyance peacock."[6] Mind of Gangādhara was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine in consequence of the oblations duly thrown in fire three times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god[7] Śiva.

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[1] अनुगीर्णमथो सिन्धुप्रख्यं तडागमचीखनत् ।
प्रचुरसलिलं कूपं चात्र प्रबोधशिवः शमी ॥१६॥ *MASI, XXIII*, p. 117 ff.
He re-excavated another well also which was originally dug by his preceptor (V. 18, *Ibid*).
स खलु देवतायतनवान्वापीनिवेशः शुभः ।
सोद्यानः प्रथते स्वकीर्त्तिविभवः साक्षादिवानश्वरः ॥ *EI*, I, p. 354 ff.

[2] The wealth in the *maṭhas* is described in the Ranod Ins :—
स्फारैर्धान्यहिरण्यरत्ननिवहैर्निःशेषमन्तर्बहि
स्त्वंगत्तुंगतुरंगमैर्म्मदभरोद्घूतैश्च गर्ज्जद्गजैः ।
स्वस्थानस्य विशीर्णविद्रुतमठस्योद्दामलक्ष्मीभृतो
भूभागास्तपसा पुनर्न्नवरुचः संरेजिरे यस्य च ॥३०॥ *Ibid.*

[3] *MASI, XXIII*, p. 122. V. 13.

[4] यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्रमीशं षडाननमथ प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिः ।
प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिं च सरस्वतीं च ॥१३॥ *MASI, XXIII*, p. 122 ff.
शिवयुग्ममुमादेवीं नाट्येश्वरविनायकौ ।
स मठं मन्दिरं रम्यैरयमेतान्यचीकरत् ॥ *EI*, I, 354 ff.

[5] *JAHRS, IV*, p. 147 ff.

[6] उदग्रशिखितर्प्पणप्रगुणितैकपाणिक्षमं
कुमार इव सर्वदा परिहृतांगनासंगमः । *MASI, XXIII*, p. 117 ff.

[7] सातत्यान्नित्यकृत्याहुतिभिरुपचितो चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं
न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरंस्य । V. 13, *EI, II*, p.

B. *Worship* :—It was the most important activity under this category.

(*a*) *Procedure* :—Inscriptions do not yield detailed information regarding it. The *Bilhari Ins.*[1] records that it was conducted in accordance with the āgamic precepts. It further indicates that in the beginning, deity was bathed and then it was worshipped by offerings of flowers which was followed by the presentation of white garments,[2] garlands, sandal, elephants, horses etc. In the end hymns were recited and salutations were made.

(*b*) *Forms of Śiva* :—Out of the sixteen[3] forms recognised in the *Śaiva-siddhānta*, inscriptions mention Umā-maheśvara, *Gangādhara*[4] and *Nāṭyeśvara* forms. Vyomaśiva had set up the images of Umā-maheśvara, Umā, Nāṭyeśvara and *Vināyaka*.[5] Prabhāvaśiva, likewise, installed *Umā*, *Umā-maheśvara*, *Shaḍānana*, *Sarasvatī* and *Gaṇeśa*.[6]

Nāṭyeśvara seems to be a popular form. Śiva in this form has been invoked several times in inscriptions. It may, however, be stated that nowhere in inscriptions do we get any suggestion for the interpretation of five-fold activities (*pañcha-kritya*) of *Īśvara*.

C. *Pantheon* :—Inscriptions mention Gaṇapati,[2] Shaḍānana, Umā and Sarasvatī as important Śaiva deities.

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[1] सम्पूज्य देवमीशानम्विभवैः स्वैर्यथोचितै
यंथागमं यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रं विहितवान्नृपः ॥७२॥ *EI*, I, 251 ff.

[2] निमज्ज्य यो रत्ननिधौ श्रीमान्सोमेश्वरं शनैः
अभ्यर्च्च्य कांचनैः पद्मैरथान्यत्तु न्यवेदयत् ॥६१॥
सोमेश्वराभ्यर्च्चनम् ॥
दत्वा यः करिवाजिशुभ्रवसनस्रक्चन्दनादीन्पुनः
संसाराश्रमशान्तयेति विनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टःप्रभुः ॥६२॥ *ibid.*

[3] *ISG.* pt. IV, pp. 409-416.

[4] *EI*, I, p. 251, V. 1., *MASI*, *XXIII*, p. 117 ff, V. 1.

[5] शिवयुग्ममुमादेवीं नाट्येश्वरविनायकौ ॥४४॥ *EI*, I, pp. 354 ff.

[6] यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्रमीशं षडाननमथप्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिः ।
प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिं च सरस्वतीं च ॥१२॥
MASI, *XXIII*, p. 122 ff.

APPENDIX

THE RĀJAGURUS OF KALACHURI KINGS

Like the succession of spiritual royal preceptors of the Cholas, there was an unbroken line of *rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings running for more than two hundred and fifty years. *The Malkāpuram Ins. of Kākātiya king Rudradeva S. 1183, the Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva, the Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva, the Jubblepur (Kotawali) Ins. of Jayasiṃha* and a few others furnish interesting details with regard to this line.

The Malkāpuram Ins. states that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva of Ḍāhala region made a munificent grant of three lakhs of villages to Sadbhāva-śambhu who founded a monastery known as Golakī *maṭha*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[1] Dr. D. C. Ganguli[2] and Dr. B. A. Saletore[3] identify this Yuvarajādeva with Yuvarājadeva-Keyūravarsha I, the son of *Mugdhatuṅga* while Dr. D. C. Sircar takes him as Yuvarājadeva II, the younger son of Lakshmaṇarāja.[4] The view of Dr. Sircar seems to be erroneous. *The Jubblepur Ins.* of Vimalaśiva gives the succession of *rājagurus*. According to it, Purushaśiva was the spiritual preceptor of Yaśaḥkarṇa.[5] The mutilated portion gives the names of the preceding generations of ascetics who filled the important role of the *rājaguru* but those of their royal disciples have been lost. The combined evidence of the Malkāpuram and the Jubblepur inscriptions proves that Sadbhāva-śambhu flourished six generations before Purushaśiva and, therefore, he must have been contemporary of Yuvarājadeva I who was the predecessor of Yaśaḥkarṇa by six generations. As there is the corresponding succession of the *rājagurus* and their royal disciples the identification seems well-nigh certain.

Sadbhāvaśambhu on the other hand is same as Prabhāvaśiva of the Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions, because

(i) All facts recorded with regard to Sadbhāva-śambhu in the Malkāpuram Ins. are noted with relation to Prabhāvaśiva in the Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions. According to the Gurgi inscription it was Prabhāvaśiva who was made to accept

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[1] History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 684.

[2] *Age of the Imperial Kanauja*, p. 89.

[3] *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I. p. 392.

[4] *JUPHS*, 1952, pp. 227 ff.

[5] *EI*, *XXV*, p. 311 ff. V. 17.

the land-grant by Yuvarāja[1] I while the Chandrehe inscription states that Yuvarājadeva I established a monastery at an enormous cost for Prabhāvaśiva in the Ḍāhala region.[2]

(ii) The use of synonyms of names is a noted characteristic of Indian epigraphy and has been observed in the case of other ascetics of this line also. Thus, Chūḍāśiva of the Bilhari and the Gurgi inscriptions is written as Śikhāśiva in the inscription at Chandrehe. In the Malkāpuram inscription the change in name is due to the metrical exigency. The metre required a *tagaṇa* in the place and hence *Prabhāva* a *jagaṇa* has been changed to *sadbhāva* a *tagaṇa*.

After Sadbhāva-śambhu came Somaśambhu[3] who was succeeded by Vāmaśambhu. The inscription notes that "the Kalachuri kings are still mentioned in inscriptions (*praśasti*) as meditating upon his feet" (*charaṇārādhakāḥ*).[4] Seven kings[5] of this region are styled in inscriptions

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[1] तस्याखिलक्षितिपतिप्रणतोत्तमांगचूडामणिद्युतिचयार्च्चितपादपीठः ।
शिष्यो बभूव भुवनत्रयकीर्त्तनीयः श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाम मुनिर्म्मनीषी ॥६॥
आनीय यं सहजवासनया नयज्ञः श्रीमुग्धतुंगतनयो युवराजदेवः ।
सत्त्वोपकारभवदुत्तमकीर्त्तिहेतोरग्राहयन्मठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥७॥

[2] ततो मधुमतीपतेः कृतमहातपस्संचयः
प्रभावशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशैवचूडामणिः ।
अनेकनृपवन्दितः स युवराजदेवेन
यस्तपोधनपतिः कृतचरणपूतगोल्गिनकः ॥५॥

[3] The Malkāpuram Ins. informs us that Somaaśṁbhu had composed a *paddhati*. Aufrecht therefore identifies this Somaśambhu with his namesake whose *paddhati* has been found in manuscript form *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle*, 1917, p. 126 but the identification is evidently wrong because the other Somaśambhu was the disciple of S-śiva (should be corrected as Śarvaśiva) the *rājaguru* of the Chola kings. See *ante*. p. 36

[4] अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ।
The word *praśasyante* may mean "described in *praśasti* or inscriptions" and the word *Charaṇārādhakāḥ* has a clear reference to *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta*. According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. V. V. Mirashi Vāmadeva was a predecessor of the Kalachuri kings (*EI*, *XXVI*) but contra Dr. D. C. Sircar (*JUPHS*, 1952, p. 227) The evidence in favour of Dr. Sircar's view is rather strong.

[5] See ante p. 36

as *Vāmadevapādānudhyāta*. Jonarāja in his commentary on the *Prithvīrāja-Vijaya*[1] furnishes the interesting information that the Kalachuri king Sāhasika dedicated-his whole kingdom to his preceptor the ascetic Vāmadeva and started to conquer the whole earth. The king Sāhasika, however, does not figure in the Kalachuri genealogy. Dr. D. C. Sircar[2] identifies him with Gāṅgeyadeva because he assumed the title of Vikramāditya and the celebrated Vikramāditya was known as Sāhasāṅka=Sāhasika. Secondly, Vāmadeva is third from Sadbhāvaśambhu who, according to Sircar, was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva II and therefore Gāṅgeyadeva, the grandson of Yuvarāja II should have been a contemporary of Vāmadeva.

But Vāmadeva flourished four generations before Purushaśiva the preceptor of the king Yaśaḥkarṇa and therefore he can in no way be contemporary of Yaśaḥkarṇa's grandfather Gāṅgeyadeva. The mutilated portion of the *Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva* mentions the name of Vāstuśiva, the preceptor's preceptor of Purushaśiva who was probably the *rājaguru* of Gāṅgeyadeva. In the succession as known from inscriptions, Vāmaśiva was contemporary of Yuvarājadeva II and hence it was he who dedicated his kingdom to Vāmaśiva. The Kalachuri inscriptions also indicate the samething. *The Bilhari Ins.* repeatedly states that Yuvarājadeva II worshipped Śiva by his *vaibhava* i.e. kingship or wealth. It also quotes a *stotra* composed by Yuvarājadeva II in which he mentions the renunciation of all material prosperity and pleasure in favour of *bhaktiyoga*. The stotra seems to be a hymn of dedication. The inscription states that after worshipping[3] Śiva by his wealth he composed the following hymn[4] :—

"For those who are swayed by passion and whose minds are given up to sensual pleasure, this wealth becomes a cause of intoxication, Oh! granter of boons."

"Birth in a princely family, sovereignty over the earth, sacred knowledge, due discrimination, beautiful form, and victory in battle come to him who takes refuge with holy feet of Śaṅkara.

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[1] See ante p. 36

[2] *JUPHS*, 1951-1952, p. 227-232.

[3] सम्पूज्य देवमीशानम्विभवैः स्वैर्यथोचितैः ।
यथागमं यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रम्विहितवान्नृपः ॥७२॥

[4] VV. 73-75.

"What[1] is the use of making many words ? Let there be, Oh lord ! only one thing for me, and that is, firm devotion in you which is the source of all other things (enumerated above) and may the greatest of all pleasures—the shower of nectar which could only be experienced (and not expressed) through thy favour fall upon me".

This hymn very strongly suggests that Yuvarāja II dedicated his empire to lord Śiva, I would like, therefore, to identify Sāhasika with Yuvarājadeva II.

The Malkāpuram Inscription leaves the names of four *rājagurus* who flourished after *Vāmaśambhu* and continues its narration from Śaktiśiva. *The Jubblepur Stone Ins. of Vimalaśiva* fortunately supplies the missing link. Vimalaśiva and then Vāstuśiva flourished in succession. The name of the disciple of Vāstuśiva is lost in the Jubblepur inscription. It was probably Rudraśiva. The line of succession indicates that he must have been *rājaguru* during the period of Lakshmīkarṇa. *The A. S. B. CP*[2] *of Govindachandra* mentions Rudraśiva as the rājaguru of Yaśaḥkarṇa but the Jubblepur inscription explicitly notes that Purushaśiva was the spiritual preceptor of Yaśaḥkarṇa. It seems that Rudraśiva was the *rājaguru* during early period of Yaśaskarṇa and later on Purushaśiva succeeded him on the post. Thus, Rudraśiva might have been the *rājaguru* during the period of Lakshmīkarṇa and probably it was the name lost in the mutilated portion of the Jubblepur Inscription. Ascetics in the next three lines are mentioned both in the Malkāpuram and the Jubblepur inscriptions. Śaktiśiva is mentioned in connection with Gayākarṇa while Kīrttiśiva is said to have contributed to the prosperity of Narasiṁha. The next ascetic Vimalaśiva s mentioned in *the Jubblepur (Kotawali) Ins. of Jayasiṁhadeva* and the *Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva.* He was the *rājaguru* during the rule of Jayasiṁha *The Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalla* records Śāntaśiva the Kali incarnation of Durvāsā and his younger brother (co-disciple) Nādaśiva as disciples of Vimalaśiva. The latter had executed a mortgage deed on behalf of the former in which he pledged a village. They are not, however, mentioned in the Malkāpuram Ins. which records the ascetic Dharmaśiva as the disciple of Vimalaśiva. His disciple Viśveśvaraśiva

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[1] किमिह वहुभिरुक्तैर्न्नाथ सर्व्वस्य हेतुर्भवति भवतु नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममैकः ।
सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्रपीयूषवर्षः स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ।।७०।।
The translation given above differs from Kielhorn's.

[2] *JASB, XXXI*, pp. 123 ff.

established an extensive monastery at Malkāpuram in Mysore and initiated the king Gaṇapati in this faith.

Thus, there was a line of *rājagurus* running from Yuvarājadeva II to the end of the Kalachuri dynasty. It may be shown as follows :—

Inscriptions	*Ascetics*	*Kings*	*Ramerks*
	Guhavasī		
1	Sadbhāva-śambhu	Prabhāva-śiva of Chandrehe and Gurgi Ins.	
1	Somaśambhu		
1	Vāmaśambhu	[Yuvarājadeva II]	
2	Vimalaśiva	[Kokalla II]	
2	Vāstuśiva	{Gāṅgeyadeva]	
2+3	[Rudra]śiva	[Lakshmikarṇa and Yaśaḥkarṇa]	
2	Purusha-śiva	Yaśaḥkarṇa	
1+2	Śakti-śiva	Gayākarṇa	
1+2	Kīrttiśiva	Narasiṁha	
1+2+4+5	Vimalaśiva	Jayasiṁha	
	Sāntaśiva-Nādaśiva 5	Dharmaśiva 1	
		1 Viśveśvara	

No. of Inscriptions :—

1. The Malkāpuram Ins. of the Kākatīya king Rudradeva, *JAHRS, IV*, pp. 147 ff.
2. The Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva, *EI*, *XXV*, p. 309ff.
3. The *ASB*. CP. of Govindachandra, *JASB*, *XXXI*, pp. 123ff.
4. The Jubblepur (Kotawali Ins.) of Jayasiṁha, *EI*, *XXI*, p. 95.
5. The Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalla, *EI*, *XXV*, p. 1ff.

VIII. MISRA SCHOOL : THE CULT OF THE PENTAD

The tendency of *rapprochement* in orthodox religious sphere resulted in *pañchadevopāsanā* i.e. the worship of five deities as advocated by the Smārtas. The movement was started much before our period, but it could take a definite form only towards its conclusion in 11th century A.D.

The Smārta cult of the Pentad was initiated by the āgamicas—Śaivas as well as Vaishṇavas. The Śaiva Pentad had different varieties and they came into vogue by 11th-12th century A.D.

Miśra Śaiva School : The Smārta Cult of the Pentad : Its Evolution :

The worship of Siva with Sun, Śakti (mother-goddess), Gaṇeśa and Vishṇu was performed in the Miśra Pāśupata School.[1] This is same as śmārta Pañchadevopāsanā.

The later *smārta* treatises prescribe the daily worship of these Five Deities for a householder.[2] It is sometimes stated that the cult in this form was popularised by the *advaita* teacher Sāṁkara but it is extremely doubtful.[3]

The first stage in the development of the pentad cult was the evolution of trinity composed by Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.

A. The Trinity (Trideva) :—

(*a*) *Association of Śiva and Vishṇu :*—In the beginning we find the association of two great gods—Śiva and Vishṇu who came to be worshipped together. A late inscription from Kāmarūpa, describing the king as a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Vishṇu seems to have preserved an echo of earlier times.[3] A wish has been expressed in a Chamba inscription that the dedicator of a fountain-slab (*dvārībandha*) may attain the regions of both Śiva and Vishṇu.[4] *The Bhandaka Cp. of Krishṇarāja S. 674=772 A.D.* is the earliest in the series to invoke Śiva and Vishṇu in a single verse by way of benediction.[5] *The Nagpur Ins. of V. S 1161=1104 A.D.* addresses

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[1] रविं शम्भुं तथा शक्तिं विघ्नेशं च जनार्दनम् ।
यजन्ति समभावेन, मिश्रपाशुपतं हि तत् ॥

[2] आदित्यमम्बिकां विष्णुं गणनाथं महेश्वरम् ।
पंचयज्ञपरो नित्यं गृहस्थः पञ्च पूजयेत् ॥ *Smṛti-muktāphala*, p. 384.

[3] *History of Dharma-śāstra* II, II, p. 717.

[4] *EI*, II, p. 353, L. 48.
शिवलोकार्थे विष्णुपरलोकआरधाणे— *Antiquities of Chamba*, p. 223.

[5] *EI*. XIV, p. 121.

Śiva and Vishṇu together in an interesting way. "Śiva and Vishṇu form a peculiar combination", the inscription, says, "as they are passionless and passionate, clad in tigerskin and costly garments, garlanded with the strings of human skulls and flower-wreaths, decked with serpents and pearl-strings and smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes."[1] *The Madhainagar Cp. of Lakshmaṇasena* prays "Śiva who sustained Hari in his most peculiar body".[2]

Syncretic form composed by combining Śiva and Vishṇu in one image called *Harihara* or *Krishṇa-Śaṁkara* also indicates the fusion. Several such images have been found.

A further development of this *Harihara* form is the Pradyumneśvara motif in which Śiva, Pārvatī, Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa are carved on both the sides of statue to combine (a) *Harihara* (b) *Laksmīnārāyāṇa* and (c) *Umā-Maheśvara* forms. We know that such a syncretic image was installed in the sanctum of the Pradyumneśvara temple built by Vijayasena of Bengal.[3]

(*b*) *Vishṇu and Brahmā :*—The Kachhapaghāṭa king Vīrasiṁha is styled as a devout worshipper of *Vishṇu* and a great *Brahmaṇya.*[4] This association is attested by a peculiar image representing Brahmā and Vishṇu together having one body.[5]

(*c*) *Śiva and Brahmā :*—Similarly, titles like *parama-brahmaṇya*[6] *parama-māheśvara i.e.* a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Brahmā, *parama-māheśvara-mahā-brahmaṇya*[7] *and parama-māheśvareti-brahmaṇyaḥ*[8] indicate worshippers of Śiva and Brahmā both. *The Rewa Ins. of Malaya-*

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[1] वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च माल्यानि च
व्याघ्रानेकपचर्म्मणी च वसनं चाहींश्च हारादि च ।
यद्भूति च विलेपनं च भजते भैक्ष्यं च भव्यं च यद्
तद्दिश्याद्रूपमुमारमारमणयोर्मुक्ति च भुक्ति च वः ।
EI., 11, P. 183 ff.

[2] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p.

[3] "*Pradyumnesvara Motif in Sena period*" *JASB*, 1956, *IB*, III, p. 46 V. 2

[4] *JAOS.* VI, pp. 542-47; See also, *Pandukesvara CP. of Lalita Sundadeva* A. D. 853, *IA*, XXV, 178.

[5] *History of Bengal*, I, P. 48, pl, I.

[6] *Sungala CP. of Vidagdha* A. C. P. 166.

[7] *Rewah CP. Ins. of the Mahāraṇaka Kīrtivarman*, *IA*, XVII, p. 225 ff.

[8] *Nirmand CP. Ins. of Maharaṇka Maharaja Samudrasena* 6 *II*, III. p. 286 ff.

siṁha[1] reveals the existence of a sect which was devoted to worship of Śiva and Brahmā together. Some Chedi inscriptions[2] salute Brahmā in the beginning immediately followed by an invocation to Śiva while others invoke Śiva in the form of Brahmā as the creator of the universe and the reciter of the Vedas.[3] This will corroborate the conclusion stated above.

(*d*) *Brahmā-Vishṇu and Śiva :—The Karitalai Ins. of Lakshmaṇarāja* K. S. 593 opens with an invocation to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.[4] *The Kulait Cp. Ins. of Somavarman* describes the King Śālavahan as a devout worshipper of Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā.[5] *The Māndhātā Cp. of Devapāla Paramara V.* S. 1255 invokes the trinity as *Kaiśa* i.e. *Brahmā-prajāpati*, Śiva and Vishṇu combined.[6] Kaiśa (Ka=Brahmā ; E=Visṇu and Īśa=Śiva) has been described as "resembling the waterlily, the blackbee, and the Kāśa grass ; having respectively for weapons amenacing utterance (*huṁkāra*), a discus and the *pināka* ;. moving on a bird (swan), a bird (garuḍa) and bull and residing in a lotus, water and mountain". Such combined images in the *Harihara-pitāmaha*, Dattātreya and Kāiśa forms are discovered in large numbers.[7]

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[1] The verse transcribed by Sri R. D. Banerji is as

ब्रह्मणा × शौनवादिंना थेदतपावार्थंयोगिना ।
निस्तीर्ण्णानि पाषण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ।। V. 32.

Firstly, adjectives in singular *bāahmaṇaśānavādinā* etc., cannot qualify the noun *māṇavaka* in plural and secondly there cannot be any gap between Brahmaṇā Śāna because the eight letters of *anushtubh* are already complete. I would therefore, correct the verse as :—

ब्रह्मणा (णे) शानवादिना वेदतत्पा (त्वा) र्थंयोगिना ।
निस्तीर्ण्णानि पाषण्डानि यत्र माणवकैर (केना) पि ।।

The phrase '*Brahmṇesānavādin*' i. e. a follower of the sect devoted to *Brahmā* and *Īśāna* (*Śiva*).

[2] EI, II, pp. 1-7.

[3] IA, XVIII, p. 210.

[4] ओं नमोस्तु द्रहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रेम्य: ।

[5] *AC.* p. 184.

[6] कैश: कञ्जालिकाशाभा हुँकारारिपिनाकिन: ।
विविगोगतयो दद्यु: संवोम्बु (जाम्बु) नगौकस: ।। V. 3. *IA.*, XX, 310

[7] *Kaiśa* is identical with the *Hariharapitāmaha* form of the *Rūpamaṇḍana* but is different from Hariharapitāmaha form described in *EHI*, I, I, pp. 252-53.

The temple with three sancta for the trinity–Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā having one *maṇḍapa* like one at Kesari in Gujrata[1] displays the close association of three gods. The inscriptions mention the construction of similar temples in other parts of the country.[2]

(e) Sūrya, Brahmā and Vishṇu formed another triad. The copper plates of Viśvarūpasena who was a devout worshipper of *Sūrya* open with a salutation to Śri-Nārāyaṇa followed by an invocation to Sūrya. It was authenticated by *Sadāśivamudrā.*[3] The Gahaḍavāla inscriptions record the worship of this triad at the ceremony of gifts.[4] A temple for the joint-worship of Śaṁkara, Vishṇu and Bhāskara existed at Kargudri in Deccan.[5]

B. *The quadrumvarate* :—The inclusion of Sūrya in the trinity formed this quadrumvarate. Images combining Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya in one body have been found at Kiradu,[6] Pavagarh,[7] Khajuraho,[8] Gujarat,[9] Kālañjara,[10] and elsewhere.[11] But it may be noted that no temple in India dedicated to the worship of these four deities together have been found.

Ancient temples which are termed as *Pañchāyatana* really group the shrines for four gods—Śiva, Vishṇu, Śakti and Sūrya. *The Rewa Ins. of Vappullaka* records the construction of a *Śiva-pañchāyatana* form of

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1 *Arch. of Guj*, p. 31.

2 The *Salotgi Pillar Ins.* (c) discloses the existence of a temple for *Trayipurusha* at the *agrahāra* of *Pavithage.* (*SI.*, IV., p. 57)

3 *IB.* III, pp, 133-134.

4 सूर्य्यभट्टारकं संपूज्य भगवन्तं महेश्वरमभ्यर्च्य विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य । EI., II, p. 359 ff.

5 *IA*, X, p. 25.

6 *ASIWC.*, 1907-08, p. 41.

7 *ASIWC.*, 1912 p. 48.

8 This has been termed as *Harihara-Hiraṇyagarbha* in *Aparājita-Prichchhā* p., 546. *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati*, III, 27-30 nrmes it *Sadāśiva.* It is regarded as a form of Sūrya in *Mark. P. CIX*, V. 71. See also *JISOA*, XVI, p. 87. At Khajuraho several such images have been found e. g. on the Eastern wall of the S. E. Subsidiary Shrine in the Lakshmaṇa temple, and in Duladeo temple (see *Hindu Temples* II, pl. VI).

9 *Lamboji Mata temple at Delmal, Arch. Guj.* p. 163.

10 Near *Nilankarantha temple at Kalanjara Fort.*

11 H. Krishna Sastri, "*South Indian Gods and Goddesses*" fig. 144.

temple in which four shrines were built for four gods on the sides.[1] The record, however, is mutilated and gives the name of Vishṇu alone who was installed in a subsidiary shrine as Lakshmī-nārāyaṇa. *The Brahmeśvara temple Ins. of Kolāvatī* likewise mentions the construction of four subsidiary shrines by the side of the main temple.[2] It however does not describe the gods in subsidiary shrines.

Panchāyatana temples of early medieval period have been found at Osia,[3] Khajuraho,[4] Bhuvaneśvara[5] and Kashmira. The *Visṇu-Panchāyatana* temples at Khajuraho and Osia have Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya and Vishṇu in the four subsidiary shrines grouped around the main shrine. Kashmira temple belonged to another category.

Thus this was another form of quadrumvarate formed by the substitution of Brahmā by Śakti.

C. *Pañchadeva :—The Kilait Cp. of Somavarman* in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. invokes five deities—Brahmā, Gaṇapati, Vishṇu, Śakti and Śiva.[6] But this pentad is not of the Smārta variety as Sūrya has been substituted here by Brahmā.

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[1] पंचायतनं शिवस्य L. 18.
पार्श्वे देवकुली–चतुष्टययुतस्तासुक्रमाद्देवताः ।
ईशाने.........य लक्ष्मी संभारासना ।
LI. 14 and 15 *MASI*. XXIII, p. 180 ff.
The side temples of the different gods were situated on the four sides in a definite order—*Kramād.* The concluding portion of the mutilated line is *Lakshmi-Sambhārāsanā* which would indicate that one of the four at least was Viṣṇu.

[2] एकाम्रे सिद्धतीर्थे चतुरमरकुली चारुशालासमेतः
कोलावत्या तयैषः क्षितिमुकुटनिभः कारितः कीर्त्तिराजः ॥
V. 12.*JASB*, 1838, p, 577-62.

[3] *ASI. AR.*, 190.

[4] It is stated on the basis of personal study of the temples.

[5] Antiquities of Orissa, pp. 58-89; *Orisṣa & Her Remains* N. N. Ganguli, pp. 33-42.

[6] जयति भुवनकारणं स्वयम्भूर्जयति पुरन्दरनंन्दनो मुरारिः ।
जयति गिरिसुतानिरुद्धदेहो दुरितापहरोहरश्च देवः ॥ *A.C.*, p. 1S4
"*Girisutā*" in second line may be construed (i) with *niruddhadeva* which would mean Śiva whose body has been appropriated by the daughter of the mountain or (ii) separately to mean that "the goddess Pārvati be victorious along with Śiva who has controlled his senses (lit body)". Any way the sense would be that Pārvatī and Śiva be victorious either separately or in the composite form.

The evidence for the Smārta group of the five deities comes from the *lingas* of 11th century A. D. representing the four sectarian deities—Vishṇu, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya on four sides.[1] Similarly, the miniature shrines[2] representing these five sectarian deities in sancta and around furnish the testimony for the prevalence of this cult in early and late mediaeval period.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the cult of the five deities as envisaged by the *Smārtas* came into vogue by 11th century A.D. and that it indicates the rapprochement of the Vedic and Āgamic tendencies. The views that *pañca-devopāsanā* was introduced by Sāṁkarācārya does not seem to be right.

A. *Lākulīśa Pañchadeva* :—Besides this Smārta variety, there were several Āgamic forms of Śaiva Pañchadeva group. Four disciples of Lakulīśa i.e., Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kāruka along with Patañjali formed one group.[3] This variety was transported to Indonesia where it survived for a very long time although literature and epigraphy in India do not contain any reference to it. The *Cintrā Praśasti* records another form. Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka, a Pāśupata of Lākulīśa school, constructed a temple of Śiva surrounded by five sanctuaries of Goraksha, Bhairava, Āñjaneya (Hanumān), Sarasvatī and Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa).[4] The epigraph explicitly describes it as *pañchāyatana* (temples for a group of Five Gods). Both these varieties are of the Lākulīśa Pāśupata school.

B. *Siddhānta Pañchadeva* :—The Śaiva Siddhānta ascetic Prabodhaśiva, on the other hand, set up five deities around the sanctum. They were Śiva, Śakti, Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and Gaṇeśa.[5] As the daily worship of these deities have been enjoined upon devotees in the *Īśāna-śiva-Guru-Paddhati*, it seems that this form of Pañchadeva was accepted in the Siddhānta school.

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1 *Introducing India*, p. 20

2 *Development of Hindu conography, (Second Edition)* p. 545.

3 *HBD.*, I, 406n.

4 गोरक्षकं भैरवमाञ्जनेयं सरस्वतीं सिद्धिविनायकञ्च ।
चकार पञ्चायतनान्तराले बालेन्दुमौलिस्थितिमानसो यः ॥ *EI.*, I, p. 284.

5 यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्रमीशं षडाननमथ प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिः ।
प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च ॥
MASI, XXIII, 122

References to Śaiva Pañchāyatana occur in the Brahmeśvara temple Inscription and the Koni Inscription of Kalachuri Prithvīdeva II K. E. 900[1] but subsidiary deities installed therein have not been specifically mentioned.

IX CONCLUSION

Inscriptions disclose three Śaiva movements. The earliest movement was started by Śrīkaṇṭha who founded the Pāśupata schools centuries before Christian era. *Soma* a little later started at Prabhāsa two schools—(i) the school of logic known as *naya-soma* and (ii) the Śaiva devotional school called *Soma-siddhānta.* The association of schools of logic with Śaiva devotional sects is perceived still later. The Pāśupatas belonged to the Nyāya while the Śaiva were Vaiśeshikas.

Lakulīsā initiated the second movement which became in due course very influential. Inscriptions mention several important centres of this school during this period. Several branches sprung from them, Ananta section of the Pañchārthikas is specially noteworthy.

Guhāvāsī, just before this period originated a very powerful and vigorous movement which spread to the Punjab, Vārāṇasī, Dāhala province, Mālavā, Central India and Rajputānā. It sent its branches to Deccan, Tamil region and Andhra area.

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[1] *EI, XXVII,* p. 283.

GENERAL INDEX

ADDITIONS & CORRECTIONS

P.	L.	Incorrect	Correct
2	8	Maharāājdhirāja	Mahārājādhi—
2	fn 2	स्वंव—	स्ववं—
3	fn 2		add after p. '2.'
14	23	icchhā	ichchhā
16	last l. in the note	कर्मकृतफलमा कांक्षंशु- भैकस्थो अवग्रह	कर्मकृतफलमाकांक्षन्-शुभैकस्थो ऽशुभोज्झित:
19	19	Prabandha—	Prabodha—
	fn 6	Maitrāyaṇi—	Maitri—
20	4	hetrodox	heterodox
23	4	Prabandha—	Probodha—
	17	Prabandha—	Prabodha—
	fn 8	Some	Soma
24	2 & fn 2	Chinise	Chinese
25	6	Prabandha—	Prabodha —
26	fn 1		add at the end. "p. 135–136."
29	fn 2		add at the end. "Revā Ch. 38vv 2-3.
	fn 3		add at the end. "ch. 32."
	fn 5		add at the end. "*Linga*, ch. 7 v.33".
30	22	Prathiāra	Pratihāra
31	15	Ganganaśiva	Gaganaśiva
33			add in fn 1. 'Dr. D. C. Sircar seems to be right in identifying "*uttamaśikhara* with a hill bordering Bijolia in the Bhilwara District of the Udaipur Division of Rajasthan, since a poem entitled *Uttamaśikhara-purāṇa* (of the nature of a *Sthala-mahātmya*) by a Jaina poet named Siddhasūri is engraved on its surface."
33			Add in fn 2. 'The genealogy has been correctly stated by Prof. Mirashi in *CII.* IV.'

33	fn	2	generalogy	genealogy
34		6	Huen—	Hiuen —
35		3	Karakareṇi	Karakaroṇī
36	fn	2	identi ofty	identify
37		11	rajapuru	rājaguru
37	fn	1	Appendix A	Appendix
38	fn			add at the end. "pp. 147ff."
47	fn	3	Somaaśmbhu	Somaśambhu
49		26	s	is
50		5	Ramerks	Remarks
53	fn	6		
54	fn	10	Nilankarantha	Nīlakaṇṭha
56	fn	2	conography	Iconography